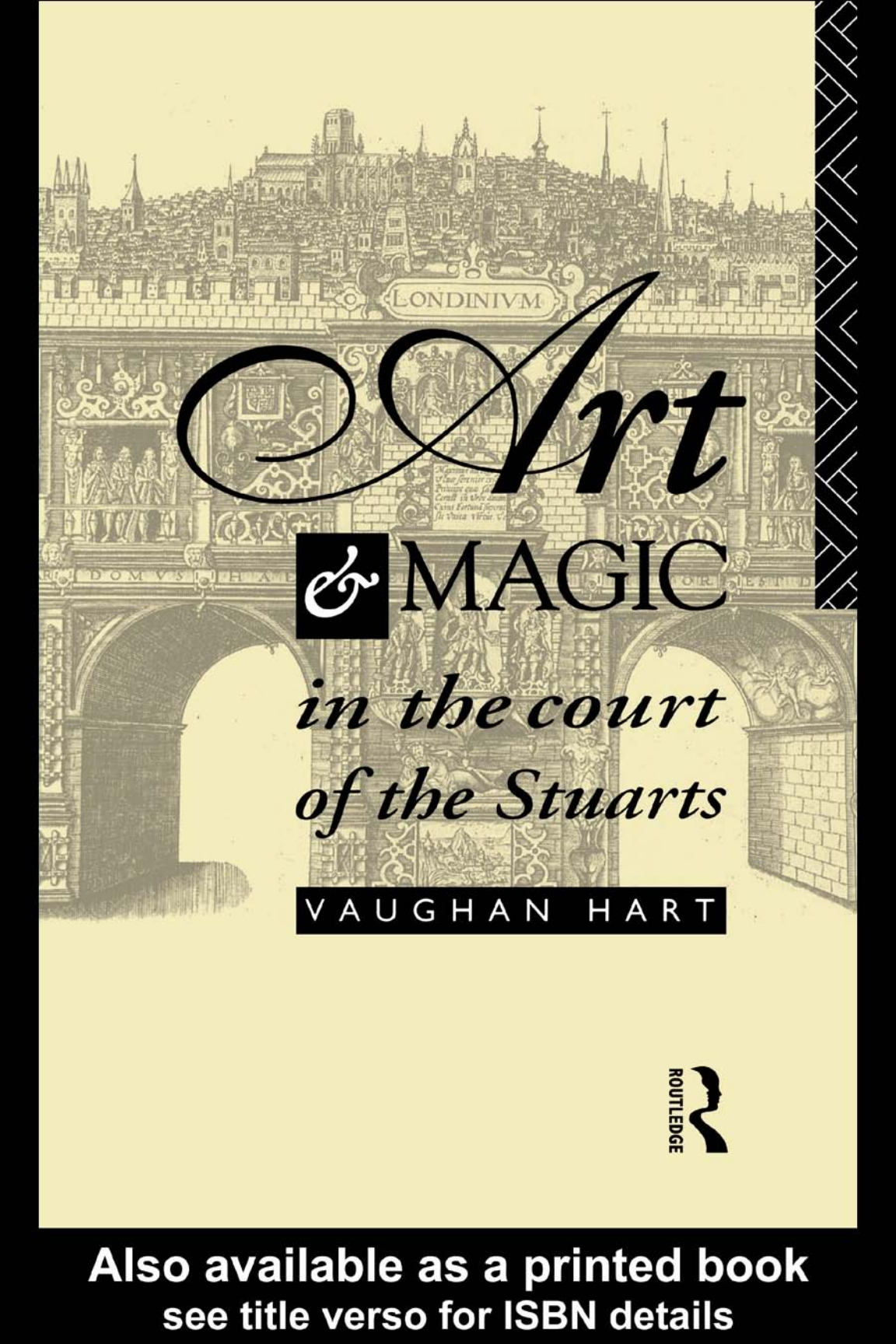




Art

& MAGIC

*in the court
of the Stuarts*

VAUGHAN HART

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ART AND MAGIC
IN THE
COURT OF THE STUARTS

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Vaughan Hart



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To Jennifer

CONTENTS

Illustrations

ix

Preface

xiii

Introduction

'The Invisible Lady styled the Magical Sister of the Rosicross'

STUART MAGIC AND THE FAIRY QUEEN

1

I

'That triplicity which in great veneration was ascribed to ancient Hermes'

STUART COURT ART AND THE MAGIC OF KINGSHIP

12

II

'By the might, And magic of his arm'

MASQUES, SERMONS, AND THE PROPHETIC

'ALBION AND JERUSALEM'

30

III

'A peece rather of good Heraldry, than of Architecture'

HERALDRY AND THE ARCHITECTURAL ORDERS AS JOINT

EMBLEMS OF THE 'HOUSE OF BRITISH CHIVALRY'

60

IV	
	<i>'A piece not of Nature, but of Arte'</i>
	GARDENS AND THE ILLUSION OF NATURAL MAGIC
	84

V	
	<i>'Dee in his Mathematicall Preface...the West end of S.Pauls'</i>
	ARCHITECTURE AND THE GEOMETRY OF
	SOLOMON'S TEMPLE
	105

VI	
	<i>'The lofty tunes of the Diapenthes, Diatessarons, and Diapasons of our Royall Harpe'</i>
	MUSICAL HARMONY AND PYTHAGOREAN PALACES
	136

VII	
	<i>'The body of the King...that glorious Sun'</i>
	PROCESSIONS AND STUART LONDON AS THE
	NEOPLATONIC 'CITY OF THE SUN'
	155

Epilogue	
	<i>'The heav'n of earth shall have no oddes'</i>
	APOCALYPTIC COURT ART AND ALBION'S SECOND RUIN
	189

Appendix	
	<i>Inigo Jones or John Webb?</i>
	THE PROBLEM OF AUTHORSHIP OF <i>STONE-HENG</i>
	<i>RESTORED</i> (1655)
	201

Notes	
	206

Bibliography	
	244

Index	
	256

ILLUSTRATIONS

- Figure 1* Rubens's ceiling panels to Jones's Whitehall Banqueting House. Interior of the Banqueting House.
- Figure 2* Jones's sketch of Hercules, Daedalus, and Mercury-Hermes, from *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (1618) (Chatsworth).
- Figure 3* Charles I and Henrietta Maria as Apollo and Diana, Gerard van Honthorst (1628) (Hampton Court).
- Figure 4* Mercury-Hermes and St Paul's Cathedral. Detail from Hollar's 'long view' of London (1647) (Cambridge University Library).
- Figure 5* 'The Fallen House of British Chivalry' designed by Inigo Jones for *Prince Henry's Barriers* (1610) (Chatsworth).
- Figure 6* 'St George's Portico', Jones's subsequent scene from *Prince Henry's Barriers* (Chatsworth).
- Figure 7* Jones's characterisation of Merlin from *Prince Henry's Barriers* (1610) (Chatsworth). Jones's drawing of a knight masquer with shield, dressed *a l'antique* from unassigned Barrier celebration (Chatsworth).
- Figure 8* *Charles I and the Knights of the Garter in Procession*, by Van Dyck. Detail showing Charles I (The Duke of Rutland collection).
- Figure 9* Inigo Jones's scene design with his newly refaced St Paul's as the focus from *Britannia Triumphans* (1638) (Chatsworth).
- Figure 10* Stonehenge according to Inigo Jones. Woodcut plan of the whole layout of Stonehenge, view of stones and generalised Romano-British temple from Jones's *STONE-HENG Restored*, London (1655 edn) (Cambridge University Library).
- Figure 11* Engraving of Elizabeth I, by Crispin de Passe Senior (1596), presenting a combined image of heraldic and architectural Order. Published by Jan Woudneel in London (Cambridge University Library).
- Figure 12* Mark of the printer John Daye from Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*,

- London (1570 edn) (Cambridge University Library).
- Figure 13* Emblematic frontispiece to James's *Works*, London (1616) (Cambridge University Library).
- Figure 14* Plan of Solomon's temple from Juan Bautista Villalpando's *In Ezechielem Explanationes*, Rome (1596–1604), showing the tribes of Israel, the zodiac and the planets (Cambridge University Library).
- Figure 15* Jones's Banqueting House scene for Jonson's masque *Time Vindicated to Himself and to His Honours* (1623) (Chatsworth).
- Figure 16* John Webb's design for a pulley for raising stones at St Paul's (1637), made in his capacity as Jones's 'clerk engrosser' on the cathedral works (Stafford Letters, vol. 24–5 (133), 14 July 1637: Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, Central Library, Sheffield).
- Figure 17* Garden scene from Thomas Carew's *Coelum Britannicum* (1634) (Chatsworth).
- Figure 18* Engraved view of Wilton House and garden by Isaac de Caus from *Le Jardin de Wilton*, London (c. 1645) (The British Library).
- Figure 19* Palladio's illustration of the Roman theatre plan, from Daniel Barbaro's *Vitruvius*, Venice (1556) (Cambridge University Library).
- Figure 20* Suggested relationship between the Escorial, Spain, and a circle and equilateral triangle (after Rene Taylor).
- Figure 21* Plan of Whitehall Palace (P2 Chatsworth 68) in comparison with Solomon's temple according to Villalpando.
- Figure 22* Villalpando's illustration of Solomon's 'Holy of Holies' compared to Webb's design for the king's bedchamber, Greenwich (1666) (R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection).
- Figure 23* Suggested relationship between Whitehall Palace and a circle and equilateral triangle (after Roy Strong).
- Figure 24* Sketch of the south transept of the cathedral after the fire of 1666, by Thomas Wycke (1666) (The Guildhall Library, London).
- Figure 25* Detail of Inigo Jones's design for the west front of old St Paul's, showing pencil 'X' (full size).
- Figure 26* Annotated 'X' signifying 'centre' in Inigo Jones's 1560 edition of Serlio (Queen's College, Oxford).
- Figure 27* Design for the west front of old St Paul's in Inigo Jones's hand, unexecuted and undated (from R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection), with a circle and equilateral triangle superimposed.
- Figure 28* Jones's completed west front of St Paul's according to Henry Flitcroft, with a circle superimposed, published in William Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones*, London (1727) (Cambridge University Library).
- Figure 29* Proposed geometric order of Milan Cathedral from Cesare Cesariano's *Vitruvius*, Como (1521), Book I, Chapter 2 (Cambridge University Library).
- Figure 30* Suggested plan of the Globe Theatre (after Frances Yates).

- Figure 31* Drawing for Oberon's palace by Inigo Jones, from *Oberon, the Fairy Prince* (1611), showing geometric constructions (Chatsworth).
- Figure 32* Bay of the Banqueting House, Whitehall, showing original stone colours.
- Figure 33* Survey drawing of the Banqueting House façade.
- Figure 34* The 'Londinium Arch', from James I's coronation entry through the City of London in 1604, picturing the union of heraldry and the architectural Orders, with the old cathedral at the 'summit' of the city. Published by Stephen Harrison in *Arches of Triumph*, London (1604).
- Figure 35* The Stuart triumphal route. Map of London by William Fairthorne (1658), with Inigo Jones's buildings and triumphal route superimposed (Cambridge University Library).
- Figure 36* Reconstruction of Inigo Jones's façades along the triumphal route, from palace (right) to temple (left): Whitehall Palace (as planned, part built), New Exchange façade (as planned), Covent Garden Piazza (as built, connecting road possibly planned), Somerset House façade (as planned), Arch at Temple Bar (as planned), old St Paul's (as built).
- Figure 37* Jones's proscenium design for Jonson's masque *Time Vindicated* (1623) (Chatsworth) in comparison with Robert Fludd's 'Dark and Light' pyramids published in *Philosophia sacra et vere Christiana Seu Meteorologia Cosmica*, Frankfurt (1626) (Cambridge University Library).
- Figure 38* Hollar's aerial view of west London (c. 1658), showing Covent Garden in relationship to the Strand (British Museum). Jones's Tuscan portico to St Paul's Church, Covent Garden (1631–3).
- Figure 39* Two designs by Jones for new façades to buildings on the Strand: New Exchange (1608), drawn by Jones (R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection); Somerset House (1638), drawn by Webb (Worcester College, Oxford).
- Figure 40* Jones's designs for an arch at Temple Bar (1636–7) (R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection).
- Figure 41* St Paul's Cathedral and the Royal Progress according to Henry Farley, 1616. Detail of Progress (The Collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London).
- Figure 42* King Bladud and Geoffrey's Temple of Apollo in 'New Troy' or London. Detail of royal genealogy prepared for James I by Thomas Lyte in 1610 (Cambridge University Library).
- Figure 43* Emblematic frontispiece to James's Authorised Version of the Bible (1611) (Cambridge University Library).
- Figure 44* Palladio's temple to the Sun and Moon (Book IV, Chapter 10, pl.22–3), from Jones's annotated copy (Worcester College, Oxford)

ILLUSTRATIONS

in comparison with the west face of St Paul's.

Figure 45 Inigo Jones's cathedral according to Hollar published in Dugdale's *The History of St Paul's Cathedral in London*, London (1658) (Cambridge University Library).

Figure 46 William Marshall's emblematic frontispiece to Charles's *Eikon Basilike*, London (1649) (Cambridge University Library).

PREFACE

Much of this book was written in Bath, a city which is coincidentally probably the last example of architecture influenced by the tradition of 'magical' British mythology explored in this book—although this study in fact ends with the execution of Charles I, over a century before the building of Bath's circus and crescent. I have traced the later influences of this British mythology in an article, 'One View of a Town: Prior Park and the City of Bath', *RES*, Spring—Autumn 1989, whilst the earlier manifestation of this mythology in the artistic image of Stuart monarchy formed the subject of my Ph.D. thesis, entitled 'Stonehenge as Emblem: Considerations on the Restoration of St Paul's Cathedral by Inigo Jones', undertaken at Trinity Hall, Cambridge. This book concentrates on the art of this early period, most notable for the birth of a movement in architecture which art historians have come to term 'Palladian'.

Art historians have traditionally stressed that Italian style, and particularly that based on the work of the Venetian architect Andrea Palladio, was the source of early Stuart Renaissance art. What this focus has tended to ignore, however, is the meaning behind this so-called style, the intention of which was not aesthetic satisfaction but a powerful political message, a confirmation of British monarchy in rivalry with the Italian states and the papal 'Anti-Christ'. In order to achieve this, the forces of nature itself were harnessed and confidently represented in various art-forms to express the legitimacy of British imperialism, and a mythical antiquity which had been superior even to that of the Golden Age of Augustan Rome. This study attempts to show that art played an important role in the theatre of ideas. As such this book maps a path through a largely uncharted territory, a lost and unacknowledged Stuart magical culture expressed in its artifacts, symbols and cosmology.

The study of this theme of the early British Renaissance led me into a relatively unexplored area, for in the period marking the eclipse of medieval cosmology by what is identifiable as a coherent Renaissance outlook an apparent void in traditional art historical studies emerged. Here, we have what might be termed the 'fairy queen style', a bridge between the medieval

world and the 'first moderns' of the seventeenth century. This aspect of the present study, and Chapter 3 in particular, was explored in a previous article, 'Heraldry and the Architectural Orders as Joint Emblems of British Chivalry', *RES*, Spring 1993. Aspects of Chapter 6 have been discussed in 'Conservation and Computers: A Reconstruction of Inigo Jones's original Whitehall Banqueting House, London c.1620', *Computers and the History of Art*, London, Courtauld Institute (1993), whilst the drawings (Figures 32 and 33) at the centre of this chapter were displayed in the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition of 1993.

A number of historians have assisted in this study, and should be thanked: Dr David Watkin, Dr Michael Hunter, and Professor Robert Tavernor all read and commented on earlier versions of the text. Dr Edward Chaney, Dr John Mac Arthur, Dr Sarah Bayliss, Dr Peter Hicks, and Neil Leach were all consulted on detailed points. Dr Michael Lewis at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal, helped me during my study of Inigo Jones's Serlio in the Centre's collection; and Peter Day at Chatsworth House, Dr Colin Shrimpton at Alnwick Castle, and the librarians at the Soane Museum and the R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection, London, Worcester College and Queen's College, Oxford, Magdalene College, Cambridge, together with those at the British Library, Bath University Library, Guildhall Library, Lambeth Palace Library, St Paul's Cathedral Library, and Public Records Office should be thanked. I am particularly indebted to the staff in the Rare Books Department of Cambridge University Library, who are always patient when dealing with my requests.

Bath University and Trinity Hall, Cambridge, provided financial assistance for travel associated with this work, whilst the British Academy awarded me a research grant to study in Montreal. A number of colleagues at Bath University have assisted in this work: David Cook carried out the photogrammetric survey of the Banqueting House and this was subsequently plotted with the advice of Dr Alan Day using Computer Aided Design software (CAD). Joe Robson and Carry Hunt gave valuable technical assistance. Both my father and Dr Jennifer Nutkins have patiently read through various drafts of this book, and Jennifer has borne with me through countless monologues on Stuart history. Finally, however, a mention should be made of the historians to whom I owe the greatest debt. Firstly, the late Dr Frances Yates, whose work has suggested many new areas of study and continues to prompt debate. And secondly Professor Joseph Rykwert, who first fired me with enthusiasm for the history of ideas and has been my guide through the labyrinth of the past.

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December 1993

INTRODUCTION

'The Invisible Lady styled the Magical Sister of the Rosicross'

STUART MAGIC AND THE FAIRY QUEEN

This book examines the influences on Renaissance art of magic: not the spells and curses of popular imagination, but a philosophical outlook which animated human attempts to control nature. This philosophy of nature sought to harness the powers of the natural world and, having discovered its secrets, to symbolise them, principally in the form of hieroglyphs and emblems, although traditional art-forms such as painting and architecture were also thought to imitate nature by embodying aspects of this intellectual magic. This philosophy and its hieroglyphics were understood to enshrine the truths of an ancient religion originating in Egypt but considered compatible with Christianity. However, because of its inherently supernatural quest, both intellectual and practical magic were frequently charged with having a demonic aspect, the black, as opposed to the white, art. Since lines were blurred between these two, Renaissance theorists such as Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486–1535) and the contemporary alchemical doctor Theophrastus Bombast von Hohenheim, called Paracelsus (1490–1541), sought to distinguish demonology, witchcraft, and the like, from white magic in its philosophical, or intellectual, forms.

It is now a commonplace to think of magic as by its nature secretive, hidden from the sight of the uninitiated, hence the antithesis of art in its modern, expressive form. For the Neoplatonist, however, the esoteric pictorial art of emblematics had the power to encapsulate the science or underlying order of the natural world and represent absolute human virtues of reason, justice, and the like. In particular the alchemical conception of nature was signified through this symbolic language, in which a fountain could stand for the purification of metals, Christ for the philosopher's stone, a dragon for fire or regeneration, and marriage for the union of opposites. As such they were pictorial clues allowing insight into the hidden order of the cosmos. In their conveyance of a propagandist, devotional, or didactic message invariably relating the subject to a natural order, Renaissance paintings were intended not merely as an aesthetic experience but as what might more properly be

termed icons or emblems,¹ whilst emblematics informed aspects of Renaissance literature and the tradition of chivalrous romance in particular.² Distinctions between so-called art and science are further blurred since technical applications of mechanics and optics were regarded as arts in their own right in the Renaissance, in that they provided the workings or science of art.³ This ambiguity is nowhere more apparent than in Renaissance architecture, the product of both art and science; the English architectural theorist Henry Wotton noted in 1624 'there being betwene *Arts* and *Sciences*, as well as betwene *Men*, a kinde of good fellowship, and communication of their *Principles*'.⁴

There was never a coherent magical philosophy in the Renaissance, as is often implied, but forms of it were united under the terms Neoplatonism, Hermeticism, Cabalism, and occultism. Studies in these had been pursued throughout the Middle Ages, and they took on a new force in the Renaissance as an aspect of its characterisation of antiquity. Although they are often used interchangeably by historians, these terms possessed independent sources in either biblical or antique mythology and particular texts were associated by Renaissance philosophers with each. For whilst Neoplatonism or Platonism referred, as their names suggest, to Plato's cosmology and in particular to the dialogues of the *Timaeus* and the *Symposium*, Hermeticism encompassed the body of arcane writing known as the *Corpus Hermeticum* which was attributed in the early Renaissance to the Egyptian priest and Greek god Hermes (after whom it was named), the Persian magus Zoroaster, Orpheus, the Sibyls, and so forth. These writings were considered to be an acceptable alternative to the work of Aristotle and played an important part in stimulating the subsequent Hermetic studies patronised by Renaissance monarchy. In 1463 Cosimo de' Medici had requested that Marsilio Ficino postpone his translation of Plato in order to render into Latin the Greek Hermetic texts. In the spirit of the early Renaissance these pagan sources came to assume a Christian purpose. An important claim of Neoplatonism was that the great biblical heroes had been magicians. Although Eden had been lost at the time of the Fall, according to this mythology Adam's knowledge of all the natural elements was passed on through Noah to Moses and then to Solomon.⁵ The lore associated with forms of practical or operative magic, notably astrology and alchemy, cultivated Solomon as an initiate. Hebrew Cabala in particular held that Moses was told the secrets of nature by God on receiving the Ten Commandments, since the Bible recorded the prophet as learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians' (Acts 7:22), a wisdom identified in particular with the contemporary studies into the mysteries of nature by Euclid and Pythagoras. Various strands of this Hebrew Cabala were studied in the Renaissance because of their supposed compatibility with Christianity.⁶ Indeed, the Christian Cabalist hoped that through such divinely inspired intellectual magic, pre-Christian or otherwise, the conditions on earth for nothing less than the second coming would be created, a necessary prelude

to the Apocalypse and final establishment of the heavenly Jerusalem.⁷ In reflecting this 'Christianised' cosmology, Hermes was pictured in the pavement of Siena Cathedral and in the frescos painted by Pinturicchio for Pope Alexander VI in the Appartamento Borgia in the Vatican.⁸ Hermes was further identified in Neoplatonic mythology with the Roman god Mercury, and as the supposed founder of all the arts and sciences, including magic, this figure of 'Mercurius Trismagistus' came to personify links between Christian magic and art in the Renaissance.

This book is, however, less concerned with the sources of Neoplatonism and their relationship to humanism and science—relationships which are notoriously problematic⁹—than with the more neglected expression and influence of philosophical magic on the art-forms patronised by Renaissance monarchy. Nor is this a study of the operative magical arts themselves—astrology and alchemy, geomancy and necromancy—with their background in native superstition. As a consequence this study deals less with the visible, artistic style of fragments and artifacts than with the invisible ideas and philosophy which this style expressed. This necessarily presents the Court artist as neither a purveyor of aesthetic satisfaction nor the creator of beauty for beauty's sake alone. Instead he becomes an artist of symbol and cosmology, a messenger of the king's self-image and Court mythology. For the key task of Renaissance Court artists, whether architects, engineers, or poets, was to construct the royal image.¹⁰ Indeed, as Medici art-works exemplify, Renaissance Court art represented the very expression of power, and the most profound aspect of this power expressed by art was the ruler's apparent magical ability to perfect nature. Whilst medieval icons venerated as holding miraculous healing powers were common enough,¹¹ the possible talismanic virtue of Renaissance Court art-works and iconography, as an aspect of their religious purpose or an expression of Neoplatonic and Cabalistic themes, remains a relatively unexplored area.

Neoplatonic philosophy had an important influence on the image of imperial monarchy in late sixteenth-century Europe, as is evidenced in the studies and arts patronised by various Courts. Hermetic-Cabalist philosophy informed the Court art of both Philip II in Spain¹² and his uncle, Rudolf II, at Prague—both of them studied intellectual magic. Prague became a centre for alchemical, astrological, and Cabalistic studies of all kinds.¹³ During the sixteenth century the French academies also provided a focus for aspects of the Neoplatonic Renaissance in northern Europe, and a stimulus to ethical reform through the revival of supposed antique music with its magical properties based on numerical harmonies.¹⁴ Later, at Heidelberg the Court of the king and queen of Bohemia—Frederick V, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, and Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I—was briefly projected as the setting for Protestant alchemical-Hermetic aspirations to a return to Adam's purity and state of grace.¹⁵ Reflecting this, the Heidelberg castle grounds contained water organs, speaking statues and other forms of mechanical

magic whilst the Palatine became the centre for the alchemical emblem 'movement' of Michael Maier.

With this European context in mind, this study of art and magic is further confined to Britain, and indeed the Courts of the first Stuart kings, from the inauguration of James VI of Scotland as James I in 1603 to the execution of Charles I in 1649. Prominent courtiers including Francis Bacon and the Duke of Buckingham, and church officials such as Archbishop William Laud and John Donne were clearly influenced by aspects of Neoplatonism. Keith Thomas has discussed the decline of practical magic in Britain throughout the seventeenth century.¹⁶ The study here, however, focuses not on initiates in magic in the country at large—which in contrast to the Court was largely ambivalent towards philosophical, if not aspects of practical, magic¹⁷—but on the work of Court artists including the co-operative projects of the dramatist Ben Jonson and the so-called 'Vitruvius Britannicus', Inigo Jones. For this was the period of the renaissance of Vitruvian—that is antique—architecture which was heralded so eloquently by Jones's Whitehall Banqueting House of 1620. Indeed, the commencement of Stuart rule marked a period of remarkable cultural achievement with the publication by Francis Bacon of *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), the early work of Jonson, and the last work of Shakespeare (who died in 1616). The subsequent Caroline Court was characterised in painting by Rubens and Van Dyck, projecting the image of a monarch ruling by Divine Right. Having been on the fringe of Renaissance culture since the Reformation, England now became the focus of its development. Whilst both James and Charles were enthusiastic patrons of the arts when finances allowed, Charles's Court was chaste compared to that of James. According to Lucy Hutchinson, widow of a Roundhead colonel, under Charles,

Men of learning and ingenuity in all arts were in esteeme, and receiv'd encouragement from the king, who was a most excellent judge and a greate lover of paintings, carvings, gravings, and many other ingenuities, less offensive than the bawdry and prophane abusive witt which was the only exercise of the other Court.

(Hutchinson 1973:46)

No English king has ever been more concerned with his own iconography than Charles I. In Jonson's poetry for the Court masques, in the portraits by Rubens and Van Dyck, and in the architecture of Jones we find preserved the king's own view of his place in the natural order or macrocosm.

The animating philosophy behind these Stuart arts, Neoplatonism in its various forms, had been introduced into Britain primarily through the importation of books and through visits both to and from the country by a number of Neoplatonism's leading exponents. John Colet, Dean of St Paul's from 1504, studied the works of Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola,

and may have met both whilst in Florence.¹⁸ Indeed when Agrippa visited England in 1510 he was the Dean's guest at St Paul's.¹⁹ The influential Renaissance Neoplatonist Giordano Bruno lived in England between 1584 and 1586, when outwardly attempting to forge links between the French and English Courts. The 'Rosicrucian' publisher Theodore De Bry and emblemist Michael Maier both spent time in England, the former in 1587 and the latter in 1616. James (as king of Scotland) visited the alchemicalastronomical laboratory and garden of Tycho Brahe at Hveen, where he stayed for a week during his time in Denmark between 1589 and 1590. James discussed Tycho Brahe's cosmology and evidently marvelled at his works.²⁰ Brahe's garden had also been inspected in 1582 by the prominent Elizabethan Paracelsian doctor, Thomas Moffett.²¹ John Dee visited the palace of Rudolf II in Prague, with its wonder rooms of automata employing a mechanical magic of the kind later displayed in the Stuart Court gardens designed by the Huguenot engineers, the de Caus brothers (Salomon and Isaac), and by Constantino de Servi, the latter having worked for Rudolf. News of the mechanical wonders in French Court gardens spread to England via Ambassadorial report.²² Salomon de Caus designed mechanical illusions for James's eldest son, Prince Henry, in his garden at Richmond, and later designed the mechanical wonders at Heidelberg for James's daughter, Princess Elizabeth, which Inigo Jones was to witness. Hermetic arts were themselves studied in the short-lived Court of Prince Henry,²³ to whom Jones was 'Surveyor'. During their visit to Spain in 1622, Charles and Buckingham were entertained in the 'Hermetic' palace of Philip II, the Escorial. Craftsmen moving from building to building possessed a high degree of knowledge which was by its nature esoteric, whilst travelling actors have also been suggested as contributors to the spread of the idea of a new dawn and enlightenment of knowledge which was to be evoked through the secrets of Cabalism in its various forms.²⁴ These visits to and from Britain were an important channel for the exchange of ideas, providing inspiration for English Renaissance art and architecture beyond the influence of Italian style.

Neoplatonism found early expression in Tudor poetry in particular.²⁵ For in composing the poetic conception of Elizabeth as the Fairy Queen, the legends of a magical Britain were given new force through being linked to themes drawn from Platonic cosmology. Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590) and *Hymnes* (1596) represent Neoplatonic eulogies to the Elizabethan age,²⁶ whilst George Chapman's mysterious poem *Shadow of Night* (1594) drew on imagery from Neoplatonism in casting the virgin queen as the moon, endowed with an 'enchantresse-like', 'magick authoritie'.²⁷ Bruno influenced a number of prominent Elizabethan poets, including Sir Fulke Greville and Sir Philip Sidney, and dedicated to Sidney the books published in England during his visit.²⁸ The work of the greatest Elizabethan poet of them all, Shakespeare, is a testimony to the cultural influence of Neoplatonism most clearly epitomised in the character of Prospero.²⁹ In discussing what she

entitled the 'Occult philosophy in the Elizabethan Age',³⁰ Frances Yates saw John Dee as the key figure behind the Christian Cabalism evident in the works of these poets, and in Spenser's epic in particular. Dee was, however, a natural philosopher and an early scientist as well as a Neoplatonist³¹ and there was probably no coherent Elizabethan movement based on occult philosophy as Yates's title implies but rather a complex web of sources.

John Dee formulated the first general definition of specific Renaissance arts in England in his 'Preface' to the 1570 English translation of Euclid's *Elementa*.³² Whilst this had sought to satisfy what Dee refers to as 'the *Pythagoricall*, and *Platonicall* perfect scholer',³³ it was aimed primarily (as a work in English and not Latin) at the mechanical workman and his supervisor, no longer the master mason but the emerging Vitruvian architect. Dee's 'Preface' was intended as a practical manifesto of the mathematical basis of Renaissance arts and sciences as informed by Platonic-Pythagorean numerology, not as a treatise on the magical arts themselves. Whilst embracing architecture, sculpture, music, and painting, with navigation and astrology, it also included more obviously mathematico-magical arts such as 'Thaumaturgicke', which Dee described as 'wonder-working'.³⁴ Here the artist himself was redefined by Dee in mathematical terms; under his art of 'Zographie', encompassing the optical laws of light pyramids, perspective, and geometry, Dee noted that the 'Mechanicall Zographer (commonly called the Painter) is mervailous in his skill: and seemeth to have a certaine divine power'.³⁵ As such the 'Preface' challenged the traditional view of the seven liberal arts, as Dee himself acknowledged: 'I am nothing affrayde, of the disdayne of some such, as thinke Sciences and Artes, to be but Seven', adding that 'New Artes, dayly rise up: and there was no such order taken, that, All Artes, should in one age, or in one land, or of one man, be made knowne to the world'.³⁶ Dee's Platonic-Pythagorean-inspired arts and the Neoplatonic imagery of Elizabethan poetry flowed into the Stuart Renaissance as a whole, laying the foundations for the magic of the Court masques in particular, in which Jones's architectural backdrops harmonised with the enactment of Platonic love eulogised in Jonson's poetry.

Whilst the alchemical-Egyptian themes of Elizabethan Court poetry and the early characterisation of magic in the drama of Marlowe, Jonson, and Shakespeare have been widely discussed,³⁷ few have recognised the importance in the Stuart period of Neoplatonism to Court art as an aspect of its role as royalist propaganda. But beyond the practical politics of diplomatic and domestic issues recorded in the 'Calendar' of State Papers lies a realm of mystical politics celebrated through art. Here we do not need to speculate on the propagandist purpose and magical reforming power of art-works, for the Stuart Court itself constantly made these explicit in the masque. In one, for example, four masquers appeared dressed in emblematic costume 'presenting Poesy, History, Architecture and Sculpture'.³⁸ Here, as a reflection of the king, the muses were intended both to celebrate and to stimulate

virtuous action through their embodiment of Platonic order and harmony. Later, once again within the medium of masque and through the metaphor of naval victory, the absolutist Court of Charles I was to celebrate the practical imposition by the king of royal order symbolised through these arts, for: 'Britanocles, the glory of the western world, hath by his wisdom, valour, and piety, not only vindicated his own, but far distant seas infested with pirates, and reduced the land, by his example, to a real knowledge of all good arts and sciences'.³⁹ This link between sea power and art was natural because in the Platonic mind the imposition of order on nature was art, as the Renaissance gardens of the Stuart Court exemplified, whilst the apparent British control after 1588 of the wildest realm of nature, the sea, was seen as a testimony to, and emblem of, the magical powers of the British monarchy. In this spirit Prospero had focused his magic on evoking tempest. Van Dyck's presentation of Charles I on horseback reflected the royal command over the natural elements and taming of the furies.⁴⁰ Under the Stuarts the arts became interrelated through their representation of Platonism. Music echoed the celestial harmony of the spheres, architecture embodied through numerical and geometric ratios the Platonic-Pythagorean structure of the cosmos, dance imitated the motion of the planets, and alchemical-Hermetic emblematics informed Court festivals celebrating Stuart coronations, weddings, and the like.

The surviving architecture of Inigo Jones stands as a powerful testimony to the sophistication of Renaissance art under the Stuarts, as probably the most famous manifestation of Court art and certainly the most public. In contrast to the development of poetry, there had been no coherent Court style in architecture under Elizabeth and little or no building work. Indeed, much of London stood in decay, as Bruno noted in urging Hermetic reform,⁴¹ which was in part as a result of England having suffered relative instability following the Reformation and the split with the source of Renaissance art in Catholic Italy. In an allusion to contemporary ignorance of the Vitruvian rules of antique architecture, for example, Dee concluded that 'few (in our dayes) atteyne thereto'.⁴² In particular this study will illustrate the migration of the magical themes familiar in Elizabethan Renaissance poetry through the early masque into the Vitruvian architecture of the Stuart Court, and in parallel recognise in Jones's work hitherto neglected medieval Platonic influences as part of a native occult tradition informing such arts and crafts as heraldry, stonemasonry, and surveying. In particular Jones was to develop Dee's wonder-working art of 'Thaumaturgicke' in the spectacle of masque, a form of mechanical theatre thus based on native investigations into mechanics. Dee himself predicts:

how many a Common Artificer, is there, in these Realmes of England and Ireland, that dealeth with Numbers, Rule, & Cumpasse: Who, with their owne Skill and experience, already had, will be hable (by these

good helpes and informations) to finde out, and devise, new workes, straunge Engines, and Instrumentes.

(Dee 1570:Aiiij)

Dee's discussion of architecture had been directly dependent on both Vitruvius and Leon Battista Alberti, his library having contained five editions of the work of the former and two of the latter. Despite this early native Vitruvianism, since the publication of the first volume of Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1715, historians have fallen in line with Campbell's self-interested presentation of Jones's work as having stemmed, in essence, from the Italian architecture of Andrea Palladio. This has emphasised Jones's travels to Italy in 1613–14, and selected evidence taken from his annotations to his copy of Palladio's *I quattro libri dell'architettura* (1601 edition).⁴³ This ignores, however, the importance of Court Platonism in shaping Jones's work,⁴⁴ which should be considered alongside that of the prominent Neoplatonic emblematisers (of poetry and picture) whom the architect counted amongst his friends, most notably Henry Peacham,⁴⁵ Edmund Bolton,⁴⁶ and George Chapman.⁴⁷

In the early years Jones's work was concentrated on the Neoplatonic drama of masque, for which he designed both the costumes and Vitruvian settings; he subsequently designed the masquing hall itself as the first of a series of Court architectural projects in the city. The intriguing and rather obvious possibility that Jones's famous buildings were compatible with the masque, his longest-running work, has gone largely unobserved.⁴⁸ This is despite the fact that Jones himself dramatically blurs the distinction of real and ideal in his use of actual Stuart buildings as masque backdrops. For images of Somerset House, St Paul's Cathedral, and the Banqueting House itself were placed on stage, beside his representations of celestial temples to Platonic virtue or harmonious terrestrial exemplars of Renaissance architecture in the form of gardens, villas, and piazzas. As the realm in which his 'Vitruvian Neoplatonism' first found expression, these masques can be used as documents describing the meaning of Jones's architecture, performed as they were within one of the first of these buildings. Indeed, following their famous quarrel, Jonson's satire of Jones focused on the importance of this Neoplatonic drama as the realm in which Jones's architectural ideals were declared. As a designer of Court fetes and masques Jones was the Stuart counterpart of the Medici Vitruvian architect-engineer Bernardo Buontalenti, for example, who had designed the Neoplatonic-inspired intermezzi and magical garden at Pratolino. Through their proportions, geometry, and iconography Jones's buildings can be seen to have embodied some of the ideas which had informed the Italian 'Pythagorean Palaces'⁴⁹ and the Spanish 'Hermetic' Jesuit architecture exemplified by the Escorial.⁵⁰ Indeed, the influence of aspects of Neoplatonism and

Cabala in particular as a contemporary religious philosophy might be especially expected in such projects as the Stuart refacing of St Paul's Cathedral. Jones can be characterised as the first, and perhaps the last, English architect to practise in this Platonic-Pythagorean tradition. The focus on a Palladian inheritance for Jones has, I suggest, had the effect of emphasising the sources for the style of his architecture at the expense of its meaning. Following the example of recent studies of the relationship of artists such as Holbein to the English Reformation, or Van Dyck to royal absolutism,⁵¹ Jones's architecture can be seen as compatible with the general iconography and Neoplatonic emblematics of Court art in its expression of the Stuart self-image.

The failure by historians to recognise the importance of Neoplatonism to Stuart art has stemmed from two sources: firstly, the ambiguity surrounding the date of the effective decline of Neoplatonic influence in Britain,⁵² and secondly, the fact of James I's fear of witchcraft most evident from his study of the subject entitled *Daemonologie* (published in 1597 and included in his *Works* of 1616). This work has suggested to commentators that Renaissance magic itself was looked on with suspicion by the Stuart Court. Due to its popularity as a theme of English Renaissance playwrights, magic has been most widely discussed by literary historians and consequently James's publication has been given a primary status over other art-forms in characterising the Court's apparent hostility to magic.⁵³ Certainly Stuart courtiers frequently displayed contradictory signs as to their personal enthusiasm for practical magic. James reflected this himself,⁵⁴ fearing the magic of Agrippa⁵⁵ but patronising the magic drama of masque. The very author of many of these royal dramas, Ben Jonson, attacked magic in the *Alchemist*,⁵⁶ although here Jonson ridiculed popular magic, and its quest for gold in particular, not the intellectual or Neoplatonic magic of masque of which the alchemist's tricks represented a practical corruption. In any case the *Alchemist* focused on the pretensions of individuals and not of Courts. In the spirit of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (first performed in 1594), James's warnings in *Daemonologie* were centred on what he considers black, demonic magic, as distinct from angelic, white magic, his wider purpose here being an attempt to distinguish between the two;⁵⁷ and it was quite common for Englishmen to attack witchcraft whilst praising the natural magic of such groups as the Paracelsians.⁵⁸

In order to distinguish the masque as a white art, black magic was used as a source of ridicule within the drama itself. For spells by 'haggs or witches'⁵⁹ and false promises of wonders made to the citizens by 'the Invisible Lady styled the Magical Sister of the Rosicross',⁶⁰ characterised a section of the drama known as the anti-masque which was exorcised by the Stuart monarch's greater magic expressed by his ability to harness the natural forces. The black power of witches was in one masque symbolised by Jones's stage set of 'an ugly hell, which flaming beneath, smoked unto the top of the roof',⁶¹ which at the sound of 'loud music' and the appearance of 'Virtue' was replaced by its antithesis in the form of 'a glorious and magnificent building

figuring the House of Fame'.⁶² In succession to Elizabeth, James's queen, Anne of Denmark, was presented in a subsequent masque as having the power to dispel enchantments when releasing knights imprisoned in pillars of gold.⁶³ The white powers of the king and his perfect emblem of harmony, the Court, here banished black magic identified with the imperfect country at large as the harbinger of witchcraft and, later, the dark forces of revolution.

Shakespeare's *The Tempest* was performed at Court by the 'King's Men' before their patron, James I, on the first day of November 1611. It projected a vision of white magic as a means by which the natural order might be restored, virtue and authentic rule being characterised by Prospero himself as a displaced nobleman. In this spirit magic would seem acceptable to James when used to reaffirm the monarch's natural position at the head of the cosmic order, and unacceptable when advocated as an agent of reform or used to challenge the monarchy, as in the case of witchcraft which James certainly thought unnatural, and therefore illegal. The king certainly believed in the efficacy of the magic he condemned, whilst the occult works in his library show his extensive study of the subject.⁶⁴ James's assumption of a leading role in the prosecution of witches was animated by his belief in himself as a 'Philosopher King', uniquely placed, perhaps, to understand the magic forbidden to others. In an interview with Sir John Harrington,

His Highnesse tolde me [the queen's]...deathe was visible in Scotlande before it did really happen, being, as he said, 'spoken of in secrete by those whose power of sighte presentede to them a bloodie heade dancinge in the aire.' He then did remarke muche on this gifte, and saide he had soughte out of certaine bookes a sure waie to attaine knowledge of future chances. Hereat, he namede many bookes, which I did not knowe, nor by whom written; but advised me not to consult some authors which would leade me to evile consultations.

(James 1597:viii)

Whilst magical practices had permeated medieval English church iconography and rituals,⁶⁵ Neoplatonism as a form of 'ceremonial magic'⁶⁶ was often seen by Catholic and, later, Protestant church authorities as a rival to their own claims to work miracles and control nature. As an early agent of Catholic reform and in stressing the powers of the individual, intellectual magic challenged the traditional institutions of church and state⁶⁷ whilst, on the other hand, providing a sign of their validity when harnessed in official artworks. Indeed, this paradox might provide an explanation for James's ambiguous attitude to magic, his burning of individual 'witches' whilst apparently cultivating their powers himself. This ambiguity is also less surprising, perhaps, if we remember that the Stuarts presided over an important phase in the 'mathematization' of physical concepts. For their rule coincided with the eclipse of the influence of the *Corpus Hermeticum* by a more

rationalistic science, symbolised by Bacon's quasi-magical 'Solomon's House' as described in *New Atlantis* (1627)⁶⁸ finding a reflection in the subsequent foundation of the Royal Society.

Contrary to this rational trend, the Elizabethan conception of a magic Albion ruled by a Fairy Queen was inherited by the Stuarts and represented throughout their rule. As late as 1637 in William Davenant's masque *Britannia Triumphans* the return of the 'great devourer of mysterious books' (line 192), Merlin, was still forecast. The European Platonic Renaissance was thus fused with national magical legend and projected first by the Elizabethan and later, more coherently, by the Stuart Court as a vital sign of the status of Britain as God's chosen land, home of the purified faith of Protestantism. This enlightened state was by no means dependent on the illusive contemporary texts of such secretive, occult groups as the Rosicrucians, as some have claimed.⁶⁹ For the thesis of this book is that important forms of art patronised by the Stuarts, including masques, heraldry, gardens, architecture, musical harmony, and processions—each forming the subject of forthcoming chapters—embodied a magical understanding of nature through references to the Renaissance cosmology broadly described as Neoplatonism. Within the emblematics of this philosophy an artifact may either have merely pictured magical themes, or—since the artistry of an object included the science of its making—might itself have carried a talismanic virtue through its embodiment of geometry or harmonic proportions reflecting Platonic-Pythagorean cosmology. In the course of examining the art of the Stuart Court this study will include both, that is the art of magic and the magic of art.

I

*'That triplicity which in great veneration was ascribed to ancient
Hermes'*

STUART COURT ART AND THE MAGIC OF KINGSHIP

ARTISTS AND MAGI IN THE RENAISSANCE

In the dialogues with Socrates comprising the *Timaeus* and the *Symposium*, Plato outlined the concept that material reality was in fact a mere shadowy reflection of higher truths, pure geometric solids composing an upper, ideal world. Both works represented a fundamental source for the theories of celestial hierarchy developed by Neoplatonists. According to this cosmology, the universe was divided into three layers consisting of the elemental human world, the celestial world of the planets and fixed stars, and the supercelestial angelic world of God.¹ This angelic heavenly world was naturally equated with the realm of Platonic *Ideas*, reflected as light to the lower worlds. Hence the celestial was seen as a mediator between the elemental terrestrial realm inhabited by man and the supercelestial, with the movement of the planets reflecting divine influence which in turn controlled human affairs.

At the most general level, those initiated in magical practices sought the power to transcend this hierarchy in order to work changes in the elemental world, in succession to the biblical heroes. This power was celebrated in early Stuart drama in the works of Prospero in *The Tempest* and ridiculed by those of Subtle in the *Alchemist*. The magician, and alchemist in particular, was held in occult philosophy to possess the power to connect earthly things with their archetypal forms, within the realm of *Ideas*, which were thought to govern them. As an aspect of this, for the Platonist the artists creation of architecture, painting, and music represented a parallel attempt to transform the lower, earthly world into this higher, angelic world of Platonic perfection. Magic itself laid claim to be the highest of all arts and as such a symbol of human creativity. Indeed, the most noble of human creative activities was first the contemplation and then the attempted realisation of these perfect forms. Artists could on occasion even be accused of practising black magic through their works.² Hence, for Marsilio Ficino, art and magic fused in their attempt to perfect nature in the wake of the Fall, with the artist

and magus sharing a status as creators. In the third chapter of the thirteenth book of the *Theologia Platonica* (1559) he discusses the power of art in replicating nature,³ noting:

human arts make by themselves whatever nature herself makes, as if we were not the servants but the rivals of nature. Thus, Zeuxis painted grapes in such a manner that birds flew to them. Apelles painted a steed and a she-dog in such a manner that when passing horses would neigh and dogs bark. Praxiteles in a certain temple of the Indians shaped a Venus of marble so beautiful that it scarcely could be preserved safe and pure from the lustful glances of those passing by...Archimedes of Syracuse made a model of the heavens out of bronze in which all seven planets completed their movements as truly as in the skies. I pass over the pyramids of the Egyptians, the buildings and the workshops in metal and glass of the Greeks and the Romans. Thus man imitates all the works of divine nature, and the works of lower nature we perfect, reform, and amend. Therefore the power of man is almost similar to that of the divine nature, for man acts in this way through himself.

(Ficino 1559:II, 223)

Artists and magicians both realised their work through the power of the imagination, influenced by Saturnian melancholy in particular. Ficino's *De Triplici Vita* (1489) had followed Aristotle's notion that all inspired men were melancholic by temperament, fusing the *furor melancholicus* with the *Platonic furor divinus*. According to Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533), by means of the influence of Saturn the artist rose to the inner comprehension of the Platonic world of hidden truth and ideal forms through three states of melancholia.⁴ Illustrations of melancholia by Dürer, Cranach, and Gerung sought to picture these states.⁵ In this tradition, Raphael's figure of Michelangelo in the *School of Athens* casts him in a melancholic pose. Indeed, Van Dyck's portraiture in which Charles I is frequently pictured as melancholic in appearance also reflected this theme in an attempt to imbue the king with an aura of spiritual contemplation.⁶ The artificial wilderness of the Renaissance garden, away from the formal walks, was frequently depicted and indeed designed as the setting for such fashionable melancholic contemplation.⁷ Edmund Spenser had drawn on this contemplative magic in the *Faerie Queene* (1590) when making it clear that the effects of the magician were produced through the power of his imagination as the realm in which astral or demonic influences were received,⁸ whilst the 'gorgeous palaces' and 'solemn temples' of Prospero's masque in Act IV of *The Tempest* seem to emanate from his 'beating mind'. In this spirit the first Stuart Epiphany masque, Samuel Daniel's *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* (1604), drew on the conception of the imagination and dream as the realm for the reception of contemplative magic, whilst in one of the last masques celebrating Stuart rule, William

Davenant's *Luminalia* (1638), Sleep declares that Morpheus 'hath power/To raise *Ideas* from my Shady bower' (lines 200–1).

Hence both the magus and artist, especially the poet,⁹ were in the broadest sense natural allies in their quest to reform and perfect the earthly realm in the attainment of 'Christianised' Platonic ideals. As an aspect of this quest, both were to seek the restoration of the fabled antique Golden Age, and in turn the renaissance of antique arts and forms of magic described in Hermetic texts were understood by the artist and his patron to represent signs of the restoration of this legendary age of Saturn.¹⁰ Supposedly born under the influence of Saturn, the Renaissance artist and magus thus jointly became the inspired agents of the Saturnian Golden Age.

STUART ARCHITECTURE AND THE REALM OF THE PLATONIC *IDEA*

Implicit in the Neoplatonic hierarchy of the three worlds was Plato's notion outlined in the *Timaeus* that the human body was created as an elemental model, or microcosm, embodying the harmony of the planetary bodies, or macrocosm. This was obviously reinforced by the conception of man created in the image of God (Genesis 1:26). Hence the hidden or occult relationships between the lower and upper worlds were to be seen most clearly in human proportions. It was thought that contemplation of the earthly, corporeal beauty of natural forms—and of human proportion in particular as the image of God—would affect both the senses and the intellect in such a way as to facilitate the ascent of the human soul to the higher world of Platonic *Ideas*. Artists thus sought to imitate this natural beauty not for its own sake but in order to inspire human sense and reason in the comprehension of Platonic ideals. Whilst music was considered to be the most powerful medium for evoking this transcendence through its harmonious effect on the soul, as described in the *Timaeus*,¹¹ and achieved through its embodiment of harmonic proportions reflecting those of the human body, Vitruvian architecture also inspired this effect and thus represented a form of 'frozen music'. The Stuart courtier Henry Wotton in 1624 noted the capacity of architecture to 'ravish the Beholder...by a secret *Harmony* in the *Proportions*'.¹² Indeed, Renaissance architecture might be expected to have been particularly expressive of this linkage between earthly beauty and heavenly perfection, given Plato's analogy in the *Timaeus* of a divine architect designing the cosmos after his own image. Plato's description of the regular forms of the macrocosm and their reflection in the 'small world' of man was equated by the Neoplatonist with Vitruvius' description of the perfect body of man encompassed by a circle and square (III.i.3). Vitruvius thus provided apparent confirmation of the unity of antique theory on the microcosm-macrocosm analogy, and of the validity to the Neoplatonist of anthropomorphic qualities such as symmetry¹³ and proportion

as proof of this analogy.¹⁴ In the tradition of Italian architectural theory as expounded by Leon Battista Alberti and Francesco Giorgi, through its reflection of these qualities Vitruvian architecture was introduced in the Stuart masques as the natural setting for man, the microcosm within the macrocosm.¹⁵

Dee's 'Preface' represented the first articulation in England of this 'Vitruvian Neoplatonism' which, he hoped, would reshape the arts on geometric principles to reflect the essential geometric structure of the Platonic worlds as evident in man himself. Hence he defined the art of Anthropographie' as 'the description of the Number, Measure, Waight, figure, Situation, and colour of every diverse thing, conteyned in the perfect body of MAN...the Lesse world: and, fro the beginning, called *Microcosmus*'. With reference to Agrippa, Dee noted the central importance of this art to:

the Art of *Zographie* and Painting, to Sculpture, and Architecture: (for Church, House, Fort, or Ship) is most necessary and profitable: for that, it is the chiefe base and foundation of them. Looke in *Vitruvius*, [margin Lib. 3 cap.I] whether I deale sincerely for your behouse, or no. Looke in *Albertus Durerus*, *De Symmetria humani Corporis*. Looke in the 27. and 28. Chapters, of the second booke, *De occulta Philosophia*. Consider the *Arke of Noe*. And by that, wade further. Remember the *Delphicall Oracle* NOSCE TEIPSUM (*Know thy selfe*) so long agoe pronounced.

(Dee 1570:ciiij)

The transcendence of the soul was facilitated, in Dee's view, through contemplation of the numerical and geometric basis of human proportion. Hence through the 'Preface' Dee had wished 'whereby, to trayne our Imaginations and Myndes, by litle and litle, to forsake and abandon, the grosse and corruptible Objectes, of our utward senses: and to apprehend, by sure doctrine demonstrative, Things Mathematicall'.¹⁶ Anthropomorphic themes were later reflected in Henry Wotton's *Elements of Architecture* (which also discussed the related elements of sculpture, painting, and garden design), published during the Stuart period itself, in 1624. On what he terms the 'placing of the *Parts*' in Vitruvian architecture, Wotton notes,

I will propound a Rule of mine owne Collection, upon which I fell in this maner. I had noted, that all *Arte* was then in truest perfection, when it might bee reduced to some naturall *Principle*. For what are the most judicious *Artisans* but the *Mimiques of Nature*? This led me to contemplate the *Fabrique* of our owne Bodies, wherein the *High Architect of the world*, had displaied such skill, as did stupifie, all humane reason.

(Wotton 1624:6-7)

The term 'High Architect', whilst probably drawn from Ficino's commentary on Plato,¹⁷ foreshadowed the title 'High Architect of the Universe' used for

God in masonic documents and rituals. An earlier marginal note in the *Elements* shows Wotton's reference to the work of the Paracelsian physician Johan van Heurne, which was based on the microcosm—macrocosm analogy.¹⁸

The conception of the artist representing in his work the hidden relationships between the lower and upper worlds, as a means to perfect and thereby transcend elemental nature, had informed the two famous treatises by Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo entitled *Idea del tempio della pittura* (1590) and *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura et architettura* (1584).¹⁹ Inigo Jones annotated an Italian edition of the *Trattato*, and the work was itself translated into English by Richard Haydock in 1598. Indeed the notion of architecture as the representation of Platonic *Ideas* was well understood in Stuart England; in echoing Dee, who had noted the 'Immaterialitie of perfect Architecture',²⁰ Jones's friend and Stuart mythographer, Edmund Bolton, made reference to the concept of architecture as an embodiment of an *Idea* when explaining heraldic design.²¹ Dee defined, for the first time in Britain, the role of the Vitruvian architect with reference to Platonic doctrine, since the architect determined the 'Demonstrative reason and cause, of the Mechaniciens worke: in Lyne, plaine, and solid.... And *Plato* affirmeth, the *Architect* to be *Master* over all, that make any worke.'²² Wotton echoed this when observing that the architect's 'glory doth more consist, in the Designement and *Idea* of the whole *Worke*...to make the *Forme*, which is the nobler Part (as it were) triumph over the *Matter*'.²³ Inigo Jones, the first to work in this tradition, equally noted in his Vitruvius 'what an Architect is according to Plato',²⁴ whilst the Platonic conception of an upper realm of *Ideas* of which the works of nature and man were a mere imitation informed a later note that 'nature shoayes not thes Ideas & therfor have recourse to arts/Arts seeks to represent effects like nature/ pleasure of the inteliect to apprehend truth.'²⁵ Jones evidently studied Plato's works. Of the two illustrations of Socrates in Jones's sketch-book, one is of a scene from the *Symposium* and the other the head of Socrates copied from Raphael's *School of Athens*.²⁶ Jones owned a 1554 Italian translation of Plato's *Republic*,²⁷ but it is not known which edition of the *Symposium* he studied. It may have been one based on the edition published by Marsilio Ficino,²⁸ since Ficino's commentary informed the emblematic poetry of specific masques for which Jones was the stage designer.²⁹ Indeed the Court masques formed the clearest artistic expression of Platonic *Ideas*.

FROM ROYAL HARMONY TO ABSOLUTISM IN THE STUART COURT MASQUE

In uniting the emblematic painting of Peter Paul Rubens and the harmonic architecture of Inigo Jones, the Stuart Banqueting House (Figure 1) expresses the supreme role of the Renaissance artist in bringing to visibility the harmonic structure of the cosmos as realised by the masques enacted within its walls.

For it is widely recognised that Neoplatonic philosophy animated the Stuart masque, in forming the most coherent (and transient) visualisation of its cosmology.³⁰ Magic was itself the main theme of these productions, which represented dramatic enactments of Hermetic mythology as realised through the early partnership between the two most important Stuart Court artists, Inigo Jones and Ben Jonson. Later, after their famous quarrel, masques by Thomas Carew, William Davenant, Aurelian Townshend, and Walter Montagu were performed in Charles's Court; Jones's stage work, however, spanned the period from the masques inception in the early years of James's Court to Charles's final masque in 1640. The drama of the masque was ultimately about its participants, the Court itself, and formed the principal Court art-form celebrating religious festivals, royal birthdays, inaugurations, and weddings.

The Stuart masque owed its inspiration and, after 1631, its specific scenery to the engravings, texts, and descriptions of the Medici Court intermezzi of 1589—Platonic allegories which harmonised music, dance, emblematic costume, and changeable perspective scenery in the presentation of enchantments and transformations.³¹ For the illusory effects of these to work on the Court audience, the masque depended on the belief that complex occult correspondences controlled the cosmos. The image of the monarch, church, and state was here perfected through the revelation of the divine *Ideas*—justice, religion, virtue, peace—of which the Stuart Court was at first a mere earthly reflection but later, during the years of Charles's autocracy, was elevated to become a living embodiment.³² For in succession to the Medici, such pretensions came to animate absolutist rule and the arts which justified and celebrated it. In the masque, images of the Court as a paradigm of order were contrasted and emphasised by its opposite, those of hell as a disharmonious collection of supernatural forces personified by witches and popular magicians—all ultimately banished by the king. In reconciling elemental opposites, turning winter into spring and drawing down favourable spirits, the masque celebrated the monarch's supposed magical powers over nature herself. As such this art-form became not merely a moving visualisation, or artistic representation, of the hidden astrological workings of a talisman,³³ but a form of religious ritual actually blessing the Court, enacted as masques were on days linked to the religious calendar.

These front-stage transformations were given the appearance of reality through elaborate back-stage mechanisms, which brought heavenly clouds to earth and propelled earthly mountains to the heavens. Akin to the very quest of Cabala, in this evocation of heaven on earth the elemental world was apparently transcended through an artistry which was itself drawn from the tradition of Renaissance magic in its supposed capacity to summon celestial influences. In presenting higher truths the masque was viewed not as a theatre of illusion but as a glimpse of reality, whilst the Court audience was blind to this mechanical artifice which was itself understood as a model of the mechanics of the Platonic hierarchy. And as the engineer

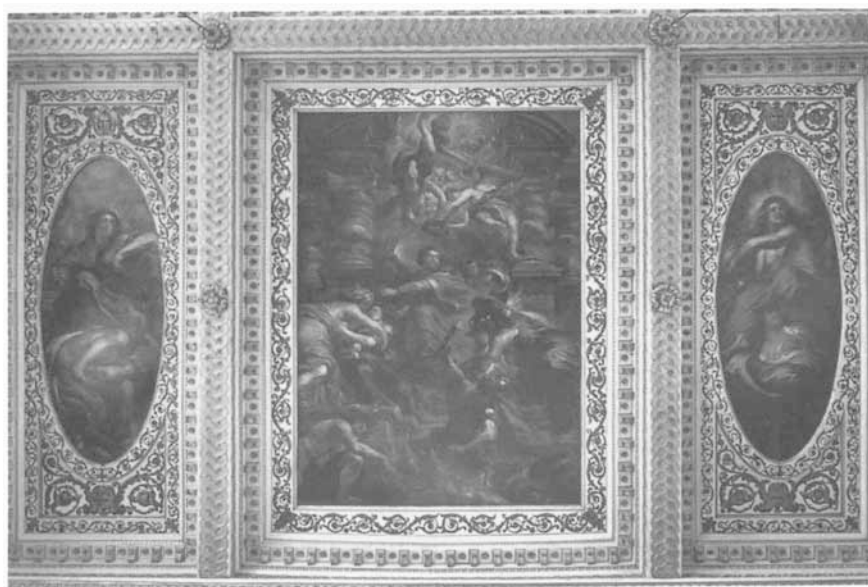




Figure 1 Rubens's ceiling panels to Jones's Whitehall Banqueting House. Interior of the Banqueting House.
(The Royal Collection © 1994. Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.)

of this illusion, Inigo Jones came to resemble the magus. The visualisation of magical forces was reflected beyond the dance and scenic transformations into Jones's backdrop itself. Here a 'House of Fame' became a Vitruvian celestial mansion in which 'freezes, both below and above were filled with several-coloured lights like emeralds, rubies, sapphires, carbuncles, etc., the reflex of which, with other lights placed in the concave, upon the masquers' habits, was full of glory';³⁴ the medieval philosopher of natural magic, Jerome Cardan (whom James himself studied),³⁵ believed that gems, seals, and rings carved under certain constellations would acquire the force of the ascendant sign and confer astral virtue on the princely patron.³⁶ In the context of the growing unrest in the country at large, the belief in the efficacy of such talismans in masque in establishing and radiating natural order proved to be a dangerous delusion.

In its disfigurement of the underlying order of nature, the anti-masque represented a corollary of 'grotesque' decorations characteristic of the Renaissance grotto; indeed a grotto was designed below the masquing hall itself, but, following the arrangement of the masques, this disfigurement can be seen to have been 'resolved' through the hall's embodiment of a higher order of harmony made explicit in its painted ceiling (see Figure 1). This essentially alchemical transmutation in the hall's section was central to masque: in *Oberon, the Fairy Prince* (1611) Jonson included a Silenus, heralding an as yet concealed beauty (in the form of Oberon himself, played by Prince Henry), and thereby evoked the grotesque, bestial forms within which Greek artists were supposed to have hidden their best sculptures. In reference to this the opening moonlit scene comprising a 'dark rock', 'all obscure' (lines 1–2) split to reveal a 'bright and glorious palace whose gates and walls were transparent' (lines 104–5). Indeed the classical topos of the Sileni had generally informed Renaissance emblematics within which outward and visible signs were subservient to inward and invisible meanings, and artifacts were but a repository of hidden truths: Christ had defied his divinity by his humble birthplace, later choosing to speak in parables to separate an obvious meaning from a secret one (Matthew 13:13). In this spirit the masque was an art-form intended not for everyone but for the elect of the Court.

Masques were consistent in their presentation of the Court as a model of Platonic harmony. Prince Charles's first appearance leading a Court masque was in Jonson's *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (1618); here the chaplain to the Venetian Embassy, Orazio Busino, recorded his admiration for Jones's control of scenic spectacle, a mountain having 'opened by the turning of two doors, and from behind the low hills of a distant landscape one saw day break, some gilded columns being placed along the sides to make the distance seem greater'.³⁷ This gives some indication as to the apparent magic of such spectacle. A surviving sketch by Jones depicts the moment when the winged figure of Daedalus, the creator of the labyrinth, led the masquers down from the hill while Hercules (to the left in Figure 2) addressed Mercury-Hermes, the creator of the arcane arts, on the subject of harmony:



Figure 2 Jones's sketch of Hercules, Daedalus, and Mercury-Hermes, from *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (1618) (Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth).
(Reproduced by permission of the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.)

HERCULES. But Hermes, stay a little, let me pause.
Who's this that leads?

MERCURY. A guide that gives them laws
To all their motions: Daedalus the wise.

HERCULES. And doth in sacred harmony comprise
His precepts?

MERCURY. Yes.

HERCULES. They may securely prove
Then any labyrinth, though it be of love.
(lines 230–8)

The steps of the following dance, which the text makes clear were directed by Daedalus, were demonstrations of the poetry, representing moving symbols of royal love treading an even, harmonious path through life's maze and thereby reconciling, as the title promises, pleasure to virtue:

...all actions of mankind
Are but a labyrinth or maze,
So let your dances be entwined,
Yet not perplex men unto gaze;

But measured, and so numerous too,
 As men may read each act you do
 And when they see the graces meet,
 Admire the wisdom of your feet.
 (lines 249–56)

Celebrations of royal marriages naturally emphasised the Platonic theme of harmony, and the alchemical pairing of opposites, male and female, in particular. The plays, poems, and masques of the Caroline Court developed this theme in the form of a Neoplatonic cult of love centred on the royal pair.³⁸ Here the 'Carlo-Maria' union was frequently identified in masque with Hermaphrodite, a figure of particular prominence in alchemical emblematics as the son of Hermes and Aphrodite who had combined with the nymph Salmacis to unite the male-female principle.³⁹ If the ascent of the soul in Platonic cosmology was inspired by the contemplation of such unity and beauty, then its vehicle was the love of this perfection. Love ordered and transcended the senses, elevating them to the comprehension of divine *Ideas*. In eulogising the love between the royal couple, the opening lines of Jonson's masque *Love's Welcome at Bolsover* (1634) proclaimed:⁴⁰

If Love be call'd a lifting of the Sense
 To knowledge of that pure intelligence,
 Wherein the Soul hath rest, and residence...
 Love is a Circle, both the first, and last
 Of all our Actions, and his knots too fast.
 A true-love Knot, will hardly be unti'd,
 And if it could, who would this Payre divide?
 (lines 1–3, 14–17)

This celebration of royal love might be seen reflected through Court architecture in its display of the Orders and their embodiment of the harmony of human proportions as described by Vitruvius (IV.i.6–8); indeed in Aurelian Townshend's masque *Tempe Restored* (1632) Jones proclaimed the notion that the soul was elevated through the contemplation of royal beauty: 'corporeal beauty', he writes, 'consisting in symmetry, colour and certain unexpressable graces, shining in the Queen's majesty, may draw us to the contemplation of the beauty of the soul, unto which it hath analogy' (lines 361–4). This suggests how Jones himself saw the purpose behind the symmetry of his architecture. The Neoplatonic cult of love found further expression in Caroline Court portraiture, and the paintings of Daniel Mytens and Van Dyck in particular.⁴¹ The love of the king for his queen was seen as a reflection of his love for his people, and in turn a model of the heavenly love that united the cosmos in universal harmony. The talismanic virtues of this royal union found a natural expression through the theme

of peace, which was implicit in the fabled Golden Age whose renewal was aspired to by the British Court.

The hierarchy of the Court was most directly emphasised in masque through the relationship between Jones's perspective settings and the physical position of the king, who was seated opposite the vanishing point in the audience or, when Charles was cast as one of the masquers, placed at the centre of the stage.⁴² In this emphasis, the Caroline masque not surprisingly became a primary vehicle for the expression of royal absolutism. Jonson's *Love's Triumph through Callipolis* (1631) was the first in a series of masques spanning the period of Charles's so-called Personal Rule, in which Platonic love and virtue were now celebrated as the fruits of absolutism. Here the king was cast emblematically as Heroic Love and the queen as Beauty, whilst muses hailed the renaissance of the arts under such rule and Venus, the celestial embodiment of Platonic love, descended to bless her royal, earthly image:

VENUS. Here, here I present am,
 Both in my girdle and my flame,
 Wherein are woven all the powers
 The Graces gave me, or the Hours,
 My nurse once, with all the arts
 Of gaining and of holding hearts;
 And therewith I descend,
 But to your influences first commend
 The vow I go to take
 On earth for perfect love and beauty's sake.
 (lines 178–90)

If the first Court masques under James had expressed the theme of Platonic harmony and love as an emblem of conciliation, the last masques under Charles would express the same theme as a virtue of absolute rule.

THE MAGICAL CONCEPTION OF KINGSHIP IN STUART COURT ART

The masque was thus developed as the supreme artistic celebration of Platonic order through its harmonisation of individual art-forms. Here Platonic virtues were made visible through mime, dance, and Vitruvian architectural settings, and audible through music, song, and poetry: all of these were united in celebrating the king's talismanic powers through his apparent summoning of celestial influences. The status of this form of magic theatre in the Stuart Court obviously challenges the traditionally held view that James and Charles were either fearful or sceptical of all forms of magic and its manifestations. Indeed these displays of the monarch's ability to harness natural forces in fact drew

on and expressed the aura of practical magic which had traditionally surrounded the person of the monarch. For since Edward the Confessor it had been supposed that the king possessed a magical power to heal by his sacred touch. Some thought that this miraculous ability sprang from the monarch's consecration with holy oil at his coronation, but most regarded the ability to cure the 'King's Evil' as an intrinsic quality pertaining to the sacred person of the ruler and as such a sign of his divinity. Both James and Charles were understood to possess such supernatural powers, and both took part in magical healing ceremonies, performed once again in the Banqueting House.⁴³

The casting of the Stuart monarchy at the centre of divine influences also reflected the traditional concept that the king possessed both a human or natural body and a divine or mystical one. This was a legal and religious concept which had been identified with royalty since medieval times, forming what has been termed the king's 'two bodies'.⁴⁴ James often wrote that the king was two persons: as a man he was mortal, whilst as sovereign he ruled with divine power, in line with the Old Testament kings and with Christ.⁴⁵ James's advice to Prince Henry, *Basilikon Doron* (1603), advocated an example of mystic kingship informing the concept of Divine Right which his brother, Charles I, was to emulate. With the aim of healing domestic differences, in 1609/10⁴⁶ the king spoke before the Lords and Commoners and observed:

THE State of MONARCHIE is the supremest thing upon earth. For Kings are not onely GODS Lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon GODS throne, but even by GOD himselfe they are called Gods. There bee three principall similitudes that illustrate the state of MONARCHIE. One taken out of the word of GOD; and the two other out of the grounds of Policie and Philosophie. In the Scriptures Kings are called Gods, and so their power after a certaine relation compared to the Divine power. Kings are also compared to Fathers of families: for a King is truely *Parens patriae*, the politique father of his people. And lastly Kings are compared to the head of this Microcosme of the body of man.

(James I 1609:'B')

Here James himself publicly proclaimed the Platonic concept of the royal body as a microcosm. Through its reflection of divine order, the body of the king became celebrated as the exemplar of harmony on earth, the perfect microcosm and pattern of proportion. This fact was emphasised by the king's centrality in successive masques. By implication the Vitruvian canons of symmetry and proportion, whilst reflecting human proportion in general, in Court architecture came to represent this mystical body of monarchy as a igher order; Jonson's poetry within masque⁴⁷ urged that, when viewing James,

Read him as you would do the book
Of all perfection, and but look

What his proportions be;
 No measure that is thence contrived
 Or any motion thence derived
 But is pure harmonie.

(Jonson 1925–52: VII, 523–4, lines 340–5)

The first part of the Stuart apologist George Marcelline's *Epithalamium, Gallo-Britannicum* (published in 1625 and dedicated to the Duke of Buckingham and Prince Charles) formed a Neoplatonic eulogy on the subject of the royal body; on Charles's birth Marcelline proclaimed,

the Senate-house of the Planets did joyntly consent and determine to conferre both upon his body and minde all the perfections that can accompany a corporall essence, or inhabit in a mortall mansion place. ...Whose bodie, as it was composed of the purest mold that lodged in the bosome of Nature, so it was built up in the stateliest frame and fashion that can bee imagined, wanting nothing that the Heavenly Influences could infuse into it; so that indeed he seemeth the Masterpeece of Nature, as if she had aimed at a reach above herselfe, and when she produced him, intended to frame and compose an Angell.

(Marcelline 1625:18–19)

In particular Marcelline's praise for Charles's body was expressed through the use of architectural metaphor, in proclaiming the 'stateliness of the building' and 'rareness of the edifice';⁴⁸ the king's body is here the pattern of Platonic perfection, the contemplation of which could raise the soul to heaven, for 'in the golden meane, to each eyes censure He seemeth an object of pleasure'.⁴⁹ Behind these expressions lies the microcosm-macrocosm analogy, made explicit by Marcelline when lauding 'this little world, and yet great world of wonders, this master-peece of Gods workmanship, called Man'.⁵⁰ Indeed, in lamenting Charles's execution, Bishop Juxon claimed in 1648 that 'his Body was the *Temple of the Holy Ghost*'.⁵¹

The figure of Mercury was a common symbol in Renaissance art for this conception of the king's two bodies and the magical ability of the monarch to heal through touch. This was due to the fact that, as the supposed custodian of ancient Egyptian wisdom and theology, Mercury-Hermes had assumed the threefold role of priest, magician, and king, whilst he conveyed divine power in representing an intermediary between heaven and earth and a channel for celestial influences. As a master of God's 'Book of Nature', Mercury also came to personify the stages of the alchemical process by which, in its highest form, man sought the hidden order of God's creation in emulation of the biblical archetypes. For the recorded miracles of Moses, Solomon, and Christ demonstrated their sovereignty over nature in forming obvious biblical models for the concept of the Mercurian monarch or magician

king.⁵² Elizabeth had been identified with Mercury by Spenser in the *Faerie Queene*, and this work is credited as having established the 'type' of the British Mercurian monarch. Here Elizabethan Protestantism was presented by Spenser as a return to the ancient Egyptian theology of Hermetic mythology.⁵³ The theme of peace, as cultivated by James I, was implicit in this concept of the Mercurian monarch; Mercury had invented the lyre, instrument of musical harmony, and he carried the white rod, or caduceus, an emblem of peace which comprised two intertwined serpents, caught fighting but pacified by the god. Moses had also possessed a serpent rod (Exodus 4:2; 7:10, 20), assisting his identification with Mercury. The caduceus was thus equated with the monarch's sceptre as a symbol of authority; it features alongside James in the Ascension panel on the Banqueting House ceiling, painted by Rubens as an emblem of divine kingship (and placed in position in 1637 during Charles's Personal Rule) (see Figure 1).

The Mercurian conception of monarchy made its first appearance in James's reign in connection with Prince Henry,⁵⁴ who was hailed as the 'great Mercurian Prince' (line 32) in Richard Davies's masque *Chester's Triumph in Honor of her Prince* which was performed on St George's Day, 1610.⁵⁵ James was himself first presented to the Court as the Mercurian monarch in Jonson's masque *Mercury Vindicated* (1616), in which the king even transcended the Mercury of the alchemists in his power over nature. The arts patronised by the royal Mercury-Hermes were projected in subsequent masques such as *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* as a means to harmonise and thereby reform nature, as indeed the arts had once been used by Hermes himself. In an attempt to gain royal support for his projects, Francis Bacon's dedication in *The Advancement of Learning* (1605) had addressed James as patron of the arts in Hermetic terms: 'your Majesty standeth invested of that triplicity which in great veneration was ascribed to ancient Hermes; the power and fortune of a King, the knowledge and illumination of a Priest, and the learning and universality of a Philosopher'.⁵⁶ James's own conception of himself as a 'Philosopher King'⁵⁷ drew directly from Plato's model in the *Republic*, whilst his cultivation of the role of the British Solomon, powerfully represented by Rubens on the Banqueting House ceiling, again reflected the Mercurian monarch theme since according to Hermetic mythology an important sign of Solomon's wisdom was his knowledge of arcana. James's translations of the Psalms of David were intended to support his claim of descent from the House of David, whilst implied in this was the notion that it was David's Ark of the true faith, traditionally held to enshrine the secrets of nature,⁵⁸ which James came to protect in his Protestant role as 'Defender of the Faith'. Indeed, when also seeking royal support for his work, the English Hermetic philosopher Robert Fludd was to dedicate to James the first volume of his treatise on the macrocosm, the *Utriusque Cosmi...Historia* (1617), and addressed the king with the Hermetic epithet 'Ter Maximus' —the title of Hermes—as if James were the new 'Defender' of the Hermetic 'faith'.⁵⁹

The figure of Mercury also featured in Caroline masque, and once again emphasised the role of the Mercurian monarch as custodian of the liberal arts. Townshend's *Albion's Triumph* (1632) opened with Mercury summoning Orpheus, Amphion, and others with his 'charming rod' (line 71), whilst Davenant's *Britannia Triumphant* (1638) pictured 'Science', and 'on her head a band with little wings like those of Mercury' (line 504).⁶⁰ Charles's favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, was equally cast as Mercury-Hermes in Court art, emphasising his role as patron of the arts.⁶¹ Perhaps the most notable example of this was in Gerard van Honthorst's emblematic painting 'Apollo and Diana' (1628) (Figure 3).⁶² In this official composition, suggestive of a masque, Mercury introduces the liberal arts to Charles and Henrietta Maria pictured as Apollo and Diana respectively. Honthorst presents Buckingham at the head of a train of allegorical figures, each carrying the instruments of their magical art—globes, armillary spheres, compasses, navigational devices, and musical instruments—the first figure holding a book with the original alphabet which Mercury-Hermes was thought to have composed. One reading of Honthorst's picture is as a celebration of the Stuart Court's mastery of the secret arts of which Mercury-Hermes and Apollo were by tradition patrons. This was indeed how one anonymous contemporary poem interpreted the scene; for in celebrating the Duke's assassin,



Figure 3 Charles I and Henrietta Maria as Apollo and Diana, Gerard van Honthorst (1628) (Hampton Court). (The Royal Collection © 1994. Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.)

Felton Commended implicated Honthorst's picture in the conspiracy of magic which was frequently levelled at Buckingham, since John Felton was an⁶³

IMMORTALL man of glorie, whose brave hand,
Hath once begun to disinchaunt our land
From magique thraldome...
The cunning Houndhurst must transported bee,
To make him the restorer Mercurie
In an heroick painting.

(Fairholt 1850:69–70)

Honthorst's painting was intended for display above the dais in the Banqueting House.⁶⁴ Indeed, a further important example of Stuart architecture was more directly associated with the figure of Mercury in Court art. For in Hollar's panorama of the City of London drawn in 1647 and dedicated to

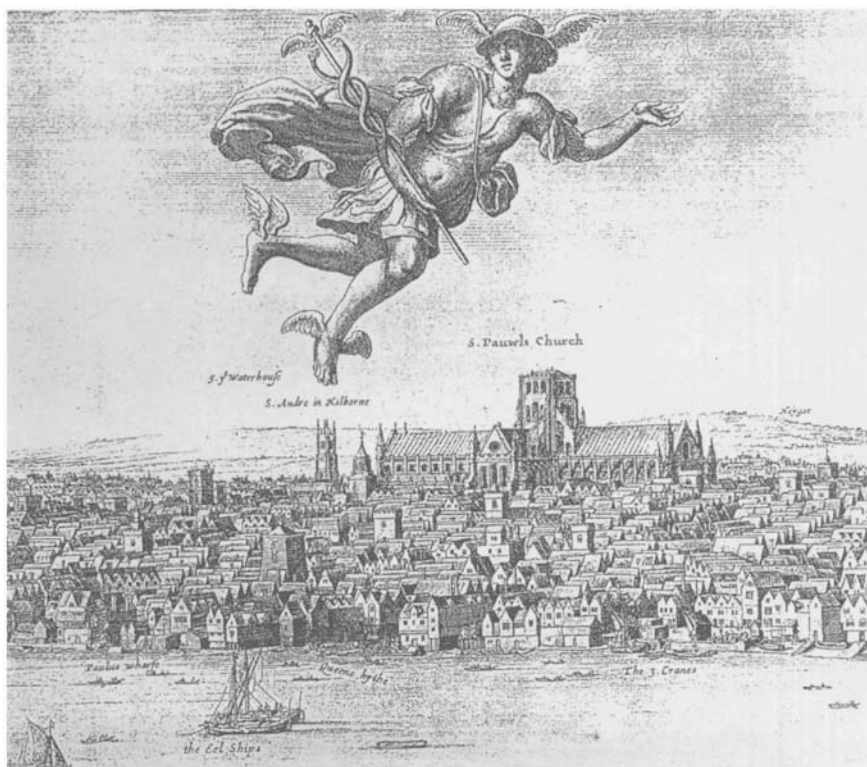


Figure 4 Mercury-Hermes and St Paul's Cathedral. Detail from Hollar's 'long view' of London (1647). (Courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.)

Princess Mary of Orange, the daughter of Charles I,⁶⁵ Mercury-Hermes hovers directly above the newly refaced St Paul's Cathedral, the principal product of William Laud's artistic policy encouraging the display of outward and visible signs (Figure 4).

It was a commonplace of Hermetic rhetoric that through a mastery of the liberal and magical arts, nature would be perfected and man's fallen state would be redeemed. In succession to Mercury-Hermes, various arts patronised by the Stuart Mercurian monarch were used to express this ambition in their evocation of Platonic ideals. Whilst Neoplatonic themes reflected, at a general level, aspects of Renaissance culture in Europe, these became characterised by Court artists through reference to national legend. Arthurian mythology and the magical feats of Merlin were represented as foretelling the virtues of Stuart rulers and their accord with the harmony of the heavens. This British expression of Renaissance Platonism and the manipulation of its cosmology to create a distinct image of Stuart monarchy will form the subject of the next chapter.

II

*'By the might, And magic
of his arm'*

MASQUES, SERMONS, AND THE PROPHETIC 'ALBION AND JERUSALEM'

FROM MASQUES TO ARCHITECTURE IN THE SPIRIT OF A MAGICAL BRITISH ANTIQUITY RESTORED

When Elizabeth I died in 1603 without having borne an heir, a problem of succession to the English throne inevitably followed in her wake. This served to highlight existing national insecurities surrounding the break with Rome over a hundred years before and the perceived weakness of a female ruler. To enhance the image of the monarch, Elizabethan artists had cultivated prophetic themes drawn in particular from Golden Age mythology. Hence Elizabeth was cast in Court art as Astraea, a figure who, following Dante, was equated with Virgil's virgin herald of a renewed Golden Age;¹ this role was reinforced by the identification in Elizabethan iconography of the Virgin Queen with Mary, the queen of heaven. Expectations surrounding this prophetic Golden Age had naturally merged with the general Hermetic-Cabalist quest to restore paradise,² and found particular resonance through alchemical emblematics in which gold was the symbol of purity and, as such, the theoretically perfect state towards which base metals strove. This found voice in Sir John Davies's alchemical projection of 'Elizabeth' (spelt by the first letters of each line) as Astraea:

Early before the day doth spring,
Let us awake my Muse, and sing;
It is no time to slumber,
So many joyes this time doth bring,
As Time will faile to number.

But whereto shall we bend our layes?
Euen up to Heauen, againe to raise
The Mayd, which thence descended;
Hath brought againe the golden dayes,

And all the world amended.

Rudenesse it selfe she doth refine,
Euen like an Alchymist diuine;
Grosse times of yron turning
Into the purest forme of gold;
Not to corrupt, till heauen waxe old,
And be refined with burning.

(Davies 1876: I, 237)

In the Stuart period this alchemical or Platonic Golden Age was to be realised, albeit temporarily, in the Court itself through the enactment of masques such as Jonson's *The Golden Age Restor'd* (1615) in which the descent of Pallas Athena from heaven was seen to banish war and recall Astraea.

The renewal of the antique Golden Age by the British Court represented an essential counterpart to the scheme of church history which was formulated by Protestant theologians at the time of the Reformation, a scheme which cast the Pope as the Anti-Christ and the Protestant church as the prophetic restoration of a pure 'ancient theology' which Catholic tyranny had corrupted. This battle between the forces of good and evil was inherently magical in nature and owed its source to the book of Revelation, with its promise of a New Jerusalem in the wake of the terrors of Anti-Christ. Following the Reformation, this prophetic scheme was to animate the art and iconography through which the Crown and its church proclaimed their identity, and as such reflected an important aspect of earlier medieval magical practice, in which prophecies were frequently cultivated to provide a sanction for the establishment of authority and the consolidation of new regimes.³ Faith in the efficacy of prophecy was common enough in Stuart Court circles;⁴ on the marriage between Prince Charles and Henrietta Maria, for example, Marcelline presented the union as 'presaging the destruction and ruine of Antichrist' in restoring the Golden Age through 'the erection of Peace, the increase of Plentie'.⁵

A necessary condition and setting for the return of Astraea and indeed Christ himself was the establishment, or rather re-establishment, by the Renaissance monarch of a Christian empire in succession to that governed by Rome. In line with this general northern imperial ambition—and most notably the claim made by Charles V to a renewal of the Holy Roman Empire—the British monarchy cultivated an imperial role. John Dee's emblematic frontispiece to his *General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the Perfect Art of Navigation* (1577) was entitled a 'British Hieroglyphick' and implied Elizabeth's imperial destiny as the pilot of all Christendom,⁶ whilst British imperialism formed the context for Walter Raleigh's *The History of the World* (1614); opening in Paradise and closing in the Garden of England, Raleigh concentrated on the chosen people in history, on the Jews in the beginning and on the English later.⁷ After the succession of James I in 1603,

Court artists laboured to legitimate the new ruler and the union of Scotland with England and Wales through the cultivation of the king in the tripartite roles of the British Solomon, Augustus, and Constantine, thereby appealing to the imperial archetypes of Jewish king, pagan emperor, and Christian prince. The Stuart monarchs projected their establishment of an empire separate from, but equal to, that of Rome since they saw themselves as receiving divine authority for their actions directly, as rulers by Divine Right, whilst this imperial mission served to emphasise their established Protestant role as the 'Defenders of the Faith'.

More specifically, however, Stuart expectations of a Golden Age and claims to Protestant imperial destiny were justified by Court apologists through reference to British legend, and to the tale of an Albion of magical virtue which would one day be restored. Indeed through such legendary British magic, Renaissance Neoplatonism was itself seen as an aspect of this British antiquity restored. The principal legends of British national origins had been gathered together by the monk Geoffrey of Monmouth, and presented in the *Historia Regum Britanniae* of around 1130. In this the British were described as the heirs to a lost antiquity comprising the Trojan and later Arthurian land of Albion, for according to Geoffrey ancient British kings were descended from Brute, the grandson of Aeneas of Troy.⁸ Fulfilling Diana's prophecy, Brute had conquered the island of Albion and founded London as New Troy, since,

with a prosperous wind [Brute]...sought out the promised island, where he landed at last in safety at Totnes. At that time the name of the island was Albion. It was uninhabited except for a few giants.... When he came to the river Thames...[he] founded his city there and called it New Troy.

(Geoffrey of Monmouth 1963: I, 11, 15–17, 25, 27)

According to Geoffrey, Albion reached full glory when, centuries after Brute, King Arthur reunited the country and went on to conquer most of northern Europe, thus forming an ancient British empire which rivalled that of Rome. In this glorious history, the Arthurian Court magician Merlin, together with his prophecies as recorded in Geoffrey's *History*, played a central role. After the death of Arthur the country was overrun by the Saxons, but not before the last of the British rulers, Cadwallader, had received from an angel the prophetic message that the Britons would one day recover their hereditary empire and be reunited.⁹ Geoffrey thus chronicled a history of supernatural British kingship which stemmed from the Golden Age of Troy. Later medieval manuscripts depicted Arthur and St George, together with David, Caesar, and Charlemagne, located in Arcadia,¹⁰ and Geoffrey's Albion came to be represented as the realm of the Mercurian monarch by Elizabethan and Stuart Court poets, who reinforced this characterisation with allusions to antique legends of a western paradise called the Garden of the Hesperides.¹¹

This quest for Trojan origins was a thematic norm of Renaissance art since, following the Trojan ancestry traced for the Romans in Virgil's *Aeneid*, such antiquity became a prerequisite to legitimate imperial rule.¹² Despite medieval critics such as the historian Polydore Vergil, Geoffrey's tale was to exercise an enormous influence on actual events in British history up to and including the Stuart age. Medieval English monarchs had traditionally used British legends of magical heroic deeds to bolster their rule.¹³ Henry VIII had cultivated the legend of Arthur's empire to justify his breach with Rome, and the emerging Church of England advanced a parallel claim to an ancient British ancestry. Through developing Geoffrey's legend, Spenser's poetry prophesied a Messianic role for Elizabethan England in which the Protestant church was seen as the refoundation of the ancient theology established independently from the popish Anti-Christ.¹⁴ Here Elizabeth was protected through a magical chivalry of the kind exemplified by Geoffrey's Arthur, whilst later the Neoplatonic cult of love centred on the Caroline monarchy became identified by Court poets with these chivalrous traditions surrounding the Arthurian knight's love for his lady.¹⁵ In this tradition, Stuart imperial pretensions found particular justification through the cultivation of Geoffrey's magical British antiquity. For having united England with Scotland and thereby claimed the title 'King of Great Britain (without the consent of Parliament), James presented himself as actually fulfilling the prophecies of Merlin and Cadwallader, that is of a second Brute who would reunify and restore the empire of Albion. Hence this antiquity legitimated the supposed magical powers of the Stuart monarchy and the claims to a renewed Golden Age which surrounded the inauguration of their rule. In Stuart Court art, 'Arthurian Neoplatonism' found clear articulation in the masque, matched by the apocalyptic Cabalism of early Court sermons and works of mythology by such as Thomas Heywood, William Harbert, Michael Drayton, and Thomas Dekker.

In succession to the mythology cultivated for Elizabeth, elaborate genealogies were drawn up to document James's Trojan and Arthurian ancestry, each of which involved a long line of British kings initiated in the magical arts.¹⁶ Thomas Heywood's *TROIA BRITANICA: or, Great Brittaines Troy* (1609), for example, took the form of a chronicle 'from the first man, unto us, this second time created *Britons*, with a faithfull register...of memorable thinges done in *Troy* and this Island'.¹⁷ Heywood was later to produce his parallel *Life of MERLIN...His Prophecies, and Predictions Interpreted...Being a Chronographicall History of all the Kings...from BRUTE to the Reign of our Royall Sovereigne King CHARLES* (1641). Here Geoffrey again constituted the main source for the life of the ancient British magician and his prophecies, inevitably culminating in the wise rule of the Stuarts. Having linked Merlin's prophecies to real events in history, Heywood concluded with a 'prophesie of K. James'; in this according to Merlin a king will 'Garter,/The Northern Thistle to the Southern Rose', whilst dark forces will attempt 'To undermine both Crown

and Government.../By blowing up the State in powder flames'. During this period Merlin also predicted,

That king shall be a second Salomon,
Whom all kings else with wonder gaze upon:
Who, as to an Oracle to him shall come,
And when he speaks, be silent all and dumbe,
Peace shall he keep within him and without him,
Whilst all lands else combustions are about him.
Him shall a second issue male succeed,
Gracious in word, victorious in his deed.

(Heywood 1641:362–3)

In this way Merlin is himself used as the mouthpiece for James's official mythology and self-image, with real events of Stuart rule presented as a magical fulfilment of the British magician's prophetic visions. In *A PROPHESEIE of Cadwallader, Last King of the Brittaines* (1604), William Harbert hailed James apocalyptically as 'Albions mightie King/Our second *Brute* like to the morning starre',¹⁸ who binds war in chains thereby inaugurating a Golden Age. Echoing this, the first volume of Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1613) was dedicated to Prince Henry as the heir to Trojan Brute and King Arthur; an empire of Great Britain was here proclaimed independent of Roman influence, for 'The ancient *Britans* yet a sceptred King obey'd/Three hundred yeeres before *Romes* great foundation laid;/And had a thousand yeeres an Empire strongly stood,/Ere *Caesar* to her shores here stemd the circling Flood'.¹⁹ The articulation of this mythology was clearest in masque, however, in which Courtiers dressed as Merlin, Arthur, and Oberon enacted the prophecy of Albion restored by Stuart rule. A succession of productions spanning the Courts of both James and Charles with titles such as *Oberon, the Fairy Prince* (1611), *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion* (1624), *Albion's Triumph* (1632), *The Shepherd's Paradise* (1633), *Coelum Britannicum* (1634), and *Britannia Triumphans* (1638) drew on Renaissance Neoplatonism as a sign of the revival of legendary British magical virtue and extended the theme of magical chivalry embodied by the Spenserian knights into Stuart Court mythology. As the setting for these, the Banqueting House itself came to display on its ceiling Rubens's painting of this antiquity characterised in the form of James's mythical ancestors, including Brute; with James himself represented as Solomon, this ceiling preserves the clearest expression of the Court selfimage in which the past is seen to bear witness to the present (see Figure 1).²⁰ In this spirit Rubens's *Landscape with St George and the Dragon* (1629–30) has been interpreted as picturing Charles as St George, with Lambeth Palace recognisable in the distance.²¹

The Stuart intention to restore Albion both physically and spiritually, through a revival of the antique arts and of architecture in particular, was proclaimed in James's Court within an early masque which was centred on

Prince Henry as the Stuart heir: Jonson's *Prince Henry's Barriers* was performed on 6 January 1610, with stage sets by Jones.²² Jones's works at this time were still mainly limited to the scenic design for such masques. In the *Barriers*, which celebrated the first official Court appearance of the 15-year-old prince, a prophecy of the restoration of Vitruvian architecture under Stuart patronage was delivered by the Lady of the Lake. This message was emphasised by Jones's stage sets depicting antique ruins which were entitled the 'Fallen House of British Chivalry' (Figure 5).



Figure 5 'The Fallen House of British Chivalry' designed by Inigo Jones for *Prince Henry's Barriers* (1610) (Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth). (Reproduced by permission of the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.)

The Lady of the Lake first discovered:

How brighter far than when our Arthur lived
Are all the glories of this place revived!...
Only the House of Chivalry (howe'er
The inner parts and store be full, yet here

In that which gentry should sustain) decayed
 Or rather ruined seems, her buildings laid
 Flat with the earth that were the pride of time,
 And did the barbarous Memphian heaps outclimb...
 When in a day of honour fire was smit
 To have put out Vulcan's and have lasted yet.
 (lines 24–45)

This British 'House of Chivalry' evidently surpassed Egyptian and Trojan antiquity itself. For Vulcan here alludes to the destruction of Troy, the city having been burnt only to be rebuilt as Rome and subsequently at London as Brute's New Troy—hence, so this masque implies, refounded by James.²³ Arthur's capital had been described in Geoffrey's *History* as 'a match for Rome' (IX, 12) and thus foreshadowed Stuart London as the rival of Rome. The Stuart 'restoration' of a specifically British architecture composed of antique elements clearly had the power to renew these lost chivalrous, magical virtues, for the masque laments:

O, when this edifice stood great and high...
 There porticos were built, and seats for knights
 That watched for all adventures, days and nights...
 With arcs triumphal for their actions done,
 Outstriding the Colossus of the sun,
 And trophies reared of spoiled enemies,
 Whose tops pierced through the clouds and hit the skies.
 (lines 46–63)

Jonson's 'House of Chivalry' evidently transcended the earthly realm; the ruins of British antiquity, 'That struck the stars, and raised the British crown /To be a constellation' (lines 39–40), were talismans in their stellar power, drawing down the Arthurian virtues. Arthur was himself discovered as a star, for 'I thy Arthur am/Translated to a star' (lines 67–8), here summoned to witness the renewal of such architecture by Prince Henry. In describing an architecture which had rivalled that of Memphis and Troy, Jonson equally articulated the terms in which Jones's future architecture was to be understood by the Stuart Court. This is evident in the masque's Arthurian porticoes, obelisks, triumphal arches, and columns, which were later to be used in the capital itself. In line with James's succession, a parallel Arthurian antiquity was hereby proclaimed for the equally new Court style, with Jones's architecture validated against Geoffrey's *History* as a further expression of a magical chivalry protecting and confirming Stuart rule.

The Stuart aspiration to restore Albion, implicit in Jones's following backdrop entitled 'St George's Portico' (Figure 6), was made explicit with the appearance of Merlin (Figure 7) whose reincarnation, in fulfilment of prophecy, has been

facilitated by the advent of Stuart rule and by the appearance on stage of the prince in particular. Merlin describes Jones's backdrop:

Aye, now the spheres are in their tunes again!
 What place is this so bright that doth remain
 Yet undemolished? or but late built? O,
 I read it now: Saint George's Portico!
 The supreme head of all the world, where now
 Knighthood lives honoured with a crowned brow.
 A noble scene, and fit to show him in,
 That must of all world s fame the garland win.
(lines 117–38)

According to the British magician the prince has restored the harmony of the spheres, a Platonic harmony resulting from the Stuart 'restoration' of the unity of the country and its antique architecture, following the example of Brute and Arthur. Cast here in the role of Meliadus (a figure drawn from a late thirteenth-century tale *Les Prophécies du Merlin*), Henry repeated the Renaissance commonplace of rulers projecting themselves in festivals as the living embodiment of the magical heroes and heroines of chivalrous romance.²⁴ A year after the *Barriers* Henry was to be cast as Arthur's heir, Oberon the fairy prince, drawing on images from Shakespeare's allegory of the Elizabethan Court in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

In line with the magical themes of Renaissance chivalric literature, public displays of Elizabethan chivalry invariably possessed a Hermetic content, in part through the influence of Ramon Lull's *Llibre qui es de l'orde de cavalleria* (c. 1275–81) translated into English by Caxton in 1484.²⁵ The *Barriers* represent one example in Stuart art of a general policy in which Elizabethan chivalry and its associated lore were overlaid by an outwardly new order proclaiming the harmonies of Stuart rule. Chivalrous epics were popular at Court: James would sometimes ask visitors to Court to read him cantos by Ariosto;²⁶ the enchanted architecture of Sidney's *Arcadia* was cited in Wotton's advocacy of Vitruvian principles;²⁷ Charles I was even reported to have quoted Pamela's prayer from the *Arcadia* when on the scaffold.²⁸ Although jousts continued up to the commencement of the reign of Charles I, chivalrous spectacles of tournament and barriers had effectively become absorbed into the Neoplatonic drama of masque during James's reign,²⁹ when various orders of chivalry were given renewed importance. For in harnessing national chivalrous traditions to advance his political and religious claims, James consolidated what became the most ceremonial order of knights within the Court, 'The Noble Order of the Garter', whose patron was St George. This reflected the obvious French example of the 'Order of the Holy Spirit', founded by Henry III in 1578.³⁰ With the symbolic duty to protect London as the New Jerusalem—following in spirit their crusading ancestors—the order was thought to embody an unbroken



Figure 6 'St George's Portico', Jones's subsequent scene from *Prince Henry's Barriers* (Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth). (Reproduced by permission of the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.)



Figure 7 Jones's characterisation of Merlin from *Prince Henry's Barriers* (left). Jones's drawing of a knight masquer with shield, dressed *a l'antique* from unassigned Barrier celebration (Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth) (right). (Reproduced by permission of the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.)

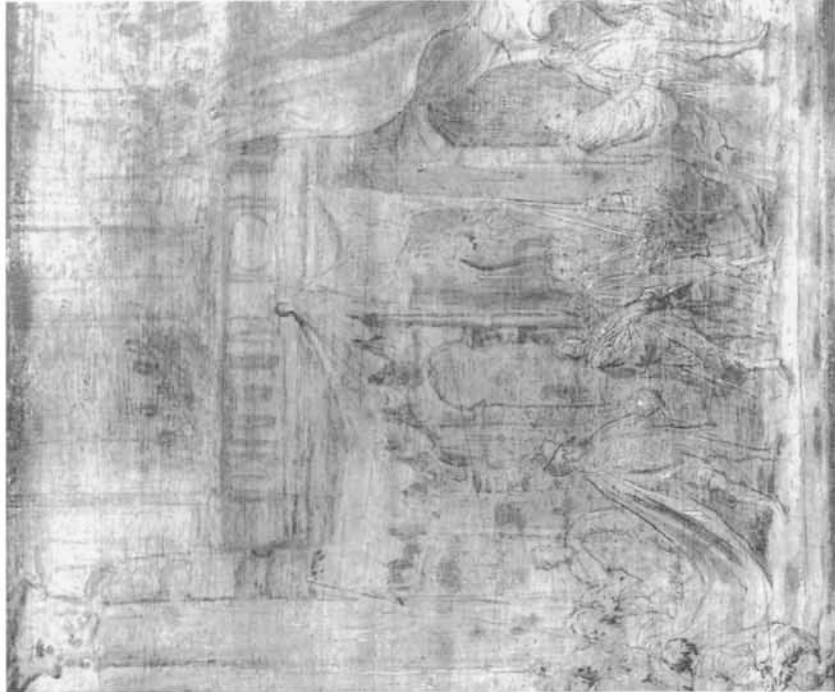


Figure 8a *Charles I and the Knights of the Garter in Procession*, by Van Dyck.
 Figure 8b Detail showing Charles I. (Courtesy of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, Belvoir Castle, Lincolnshire.)

link, past the Crusades to the magical chivalry of King Arthur's Court and, through Roman occupation, once again back to Troy.³¹ The fairy scenes in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, for example, referred to the Order of the Garter and to its chapel at Windsor as the embodiment of the Arthurian ideal. Thus, much like Jones's architectural Orders, the Order of the Garter became a public, visible sign of the continuity of British history under the Stuarts. Prince Henry had been made a Garter Knight in 1603, and the antique scene in the *Barriers* can thus be understood as a celebration of the Garter's antiquity, centred as it was on 'St Georges Portico'. In this way the 'restored' use of the architectural Orders was proclaimed from the outset of Stuart rule as a specific backdrop to the enactment by the Garter of their supposedly 'ancient rites'.³² A sketch by Van Dyck presents Charles in a procession with the Garter Order on the Feast of St George's Day, pictured against a backdrop of antique architecture (Figure 8); the intended location for Van Dyck's panels, of which this sketch was merely the first stage, was Jones's Banqueting House.³³ Indeed, in its role as the Stuart ceremonial chamber, the Banqueting House provided the setting for the Orders banquet on St George's Day.

The Stuart conception of British antiquity was visualised through the use of Neoplatonic emblematics and cosmology within Court masques staged throughout their reign. Perhaps the best example of this was in Thomas Carew's *Coelum Britannicum*, performed in 1634 and with stage architecture once again designed by Jones. This masque was heavily based on Giordano Bruno's *Lo spaccio della bestia trionfante* (which had been published in 1584 and dedicated to Sidney),³⁴ and indeed it is evident that Carew must have had a copy of Bruno's work before him as he wrote;³⁵ this obviously indicates that Bruno was still influential in England after 1630.³⁶ Carew's text, in which cosmic vices were exorcised at the creation of the 'heavenly Britain' of the title, reflected Bruno's prompt for the expulsion of the old vicious constellations (as his own title signified), and their replacement with the same constellations in their benign aspects as a metaphor for earthly reform—and for reform of Britain in particular. Echoing this, in *Coelum Britannicum* Mercury urges,

Look up, and mark where the bright zodiac
Hangs like a belt about the brest of heaven;
On the right shoulder, like a flaming jewel,
His shell with nine rich topazes adorned,
Lord of this tropic, sits the scalding Crab;
He, when the sun gallops in full career
His annual race, his ghastly claws upreared,
Frights at the confines of the torrid zone
The fiery team, and proudly stops their course,
Making a solstice till the fierce steeds learn
His backward pace, and so retrograde
Post downhill to th'opposed Capricorn.

Thus I depose him from his lofty throne:
Drop from the sky into the briny flood,
There teach thy motion to the ebbing sea.
(lines 331–45)

Cancer, the crab, is here deposed by Mercury because he threatens the progress of the Caroline sun king. Indeed Carew gave Bruno's Hermetic-Christian reform and astrological vision a specifically British setting, since the masque opened with

old arches, old palaces, decayed walls, parts of temples, theatres,
basilicas and thermae, with confused heaps of broken columns, bases,
cornices and statues, lying as underground, and altogether resembling
the ruins of some great city of the ancient Romans or civilised Britons.
This strange prospect detained the eyes of the spectators some time,
when to a loud music Mercury descends.

(lines 33–9)

These Romano-British temples and theatres 'of some great city' no doubt mirrored Stuart aspirations for London itself, superseded as this scene was by a revelation of antique architecture restored. This echoed Edmund Spenser's lost Roman London described in the *Ruins of Time*, which had been

Adorn'd with purest golde, and precious stone;
To tell my riches, and endowments rare...
High towers, faire temples, goodly theatres,
Strong walls, rich porches, princelie pallaces,
Large streetes, brave houses, sacred sepulchers,
Sure gates, sweete gardens, stately galleries,
Wrought with faire pillours, and fine imageries,
All those (O pitie) now are turned to dust.

(Spenser 1912:472, lines 86–97)

The ghost of Spenser's golden palaces formed Jones's native antique inheritance.

In closing with 'a troop of fifteen stars, expressing the stellifying of our British heroes' (line 1075), and centred on Charles himself, Carew's vision of the reformed heavens focused on a view of Windsor Castle—the chapel of which formed the model for Laud's High Church ceremonial³⁷ and which the text made clear was 'the famous seat of the most honourable Order of the Garter' (lines 1079–80). Hence the Garter was, by implication, identified here with Brunian Hermetic reform.³⁸ Indeed, the legend of St George cultivated by the Order was reflected by Carew when projecting Britain as a successor to the legendary Hesperidean garden for, 'These are th' Hesperian bowers, whose fair trees bear/Rich golden fruit, and yet no dragon near' (lines 936–7) (according

to legend, a dragon had guarded the golden apples of this Arcadia). The absence of the dragon in this British paradise was natural since, following Protestant symbolism, the dragon in the legend of St George signified the apocalyptic beast, the red dragon or devil described in Revelation 12, and his agent the Pope, whilst the virgin saved by saintly chivalry symbolised the pure church saved by Protestant imperial reform. In his 'history' of the Order of St George of 1631, Peter Heylyn noted that by the dragon 'we understand the Divell, that old malicious *Serpent*',³⁹ and in celebrating the 'Royal Eagle', King James, Marcelline observed that 'Royall Eagles doo produce Imperial Eagles, Eagles that have continually made War with Dragons'.⁴⁰

In William Davenant's masque *Britannia Triumphans* (1638), the opening scene fulfilled the expectations of the *Barriers* in again presenting the magic art of Merlin, the 'most ancient prophet of this isle' (line 209), now performed in front of an actual piece of Stuart architecture in the form of the newly 'restored' St Paul's Cathedral (Figure 9). Work on refacing the cathedral had begun five years earlier. Jones's scene proclaimed St Paul's as the focus of a 'restored' London, a restoration which had simultaneously restored Merlin to life:

The great devourer of mysterious books
Is come, Merlin, whose deep prophetic art
Foretold that at this particle of time
He would forsake's unbodied friends below
And waste one usual circuit of the moon
On earth, to try how nature's face is changed
Since his decease.

(lines 192–8)

Later Merlin himself is made to declare: 'Tis long/Since this my magic rod hath struck the air,/Yet loss of practice can no art impair' (lines 218–20). In the *Barriers*, King Arthur had expected of Prince Henry 'that by the might /And magic of his arm he may restore/These ruined seats of virtue, and build more' (lines 84–6). Hence, as the focus of *Britannia Triumphans*, Jones's revival of antique architecture, and the restored cathedral in particular, is commended to the Court as a partial fulfilment of the ancient prophecy of a physical restoration of the 'Fallen House of British Chivalry'. This theme was reflected in the cathedral design itself, for surmounting its new portico were placed statues of the two Stuart kings dressed in armour, following Jones's costume for ancient British knights in masque (see Figure 45). It was originally intended that both statues be flanked by those of past British kings, as Flitcroft's drawing of 1727 illustrates, but these were never put in place (see Figure 28). Indeed in the spirit of his earlier 'St George's Portico', Jones's Corinthian portico was itself emblematic of ancient British royalty and religion, for according

to the interpretation of Jones's work in William Dugdale's *The History of St Paul's Cathedral in London* (1658),

Nor was the King himself without an high sense of the honour done unto Christian Religion.... by thus restoring to life so signall a Monument of his renowned ancestors piety, (I mean King *Ethelbert* and the other Saxon Kings) as may seem by that most magnificent and stately Portico, with Corinthian pillars, which at his own charge he erected at the West end thereof.

(Dugdale 1658:140)

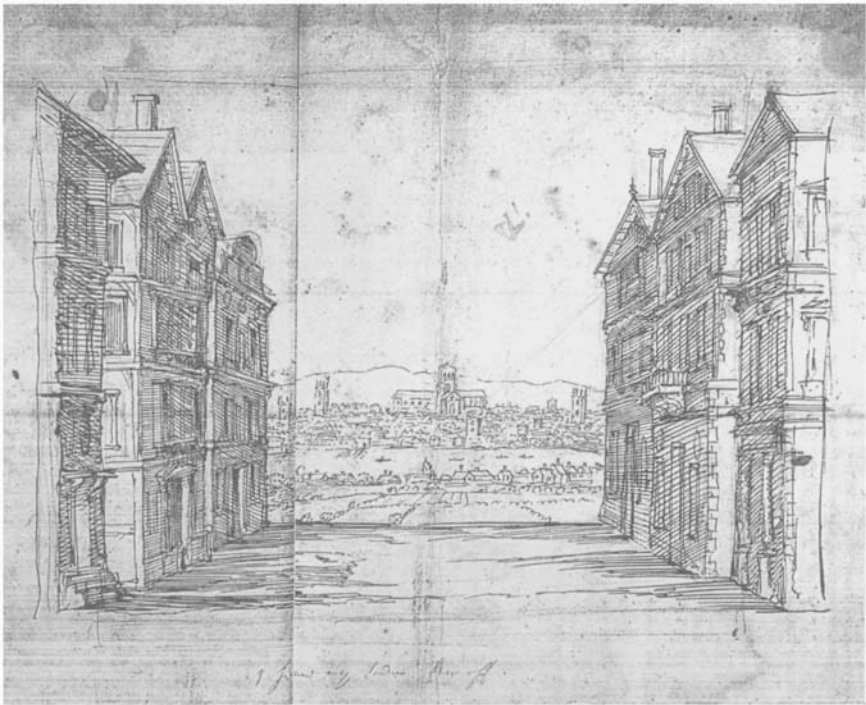


Figure 9 Inigo Jones's scene design with his newly refaced St Paul's as the focus, from *Britannia Triumphant* (1638) (Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth).
(Reproduced by permission of the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.)

The medieval cathedral had served as a symbol of the City of London, and in this spirit its 'restoration' became a symbol for that of the city itself—a city refounded through such work, like Rome before it, as New Troy. In succession to Solomon's Jerusalem and Augustus' Rome, Stuart London was projected in Court propaganda as a fabled city, for in announcing

James's intention to restore the cathedral in 1620 Bishop John King had claimed:

Your Citty hath beene anciently stiled *Augusta*.... Not to weary mine eyes wandring and roving after private, but to fixe upon publicke alone. ...your Royall Exchange for Merchants, your Halls for Companies, your gates for defence, your markets for victuall, your aquaeducts for water, your granaries for provision, your Hospitalls for the poore, your Bridewells for the idle, your Chamber for Orphans, and your Churches for holy Assemblies; I cannot denie them to be magnificent workes, and your Citty to deserve the name of an *Augustious* and majesticall Citty.

(King 1620:45–6)

The repair, or more properly 'restoration', of the old cathedral at the centre of the city was perhaps the most important of Jones's commissions, as the most monumental and public Court (and church) building project. Three fabric surveys of 1608, 1620, and 1633 testify not only to the abuse and physical disrepair of the cathedral but, more significantly, to the symbolic importance both James and Charles attached to old St Paul's as the spiritual centre of the reformed faith and, as Dugdale put it, 'one of the principall ornaments of the Realm'.⁴¹ Dugdale added that the cathedral was 'the imperiall seat of this his Realme',⁴² thereby echoing Bishop King's sermon of 1620 in which it was proclaimed 'the Chamber of our British Empire'.⁴³ No new building was ever proposed. Instead, over and above mere practical repair, Jones's work involved the addition of symbols to an existing surface, a symbolic overlay and an alteration in silhouette of the once Catholic cathedral. In this light the 'antique' encasing of Gothic St Paul's represents a key aspect and public expression of Stuart Court and church mythology, and as such was intended both as a celebration of achieved ideals and as an omen of future glory.

Jones's work on old St Paul's was in fact often termed a 'restoration'. In 1620 Bishop King urged that the cathedral 'undergo this worke of *restauration*',⁴⁴ whilst in 1658 Dugdale praised Charles 'for the restauration of this then ruinous fabrick, to its antient splendor'⁴⁵ — a restoration which had by then been achieved through Jones's 'antique' skin. Indeed, the portico inscription itself praised Charles for his 'restoration' of the cathedral in fulfilment of his role as 'Defender of the Faith'. In proclaiming the imperial concept of 'Great Britain' and the medieval myth of the British kings as heirs to the French throne, this inscription again reflected Geoffrey's *History*.⁴⁶ The term 'restoration' is explained when, as *Britannia Triumphans* suggests, Jones's cathedral is understood as a sign of the wider Stuart ambition to 'restore' Albion in justification of the Stuart succession. This was reflected by Laud's church itself and its cult of a pre-Roman Catholic Britain. Indeed, following the destruction of the Civil War, Sir Balthazar Gerbier, assistant to the Duke of Buckingham and agent to Charles I, concluded *A Brief Discourse*

concerning the three chief Principles of Magnificent Building (1662) with a dedication to Charles II, and urged: 'May his Sacred Majesty...see *St Pauls* Church in that magnificency, as the Metropolitan of the Houses of God, in the chief City of *Albion* justly requires.'⁴⁷

The City of London and its twelve principal companies were also to celebrate the legend of Brute's New Troy. Stow's *Survey of London* (1633 edn), for example, introduced Brute's capital bound up with the city's later civic structure represented by these companies and their ensigns; the latter were pictured alongside Brute's genealogy and Jones's cathedral on William Faithorne's 1658 map of London. The celebration of Trojan origins became a frequent theme within the Lord Mayors' processions; in forming one of these, Thomas Dekker's *Troia-Nova Triumphans LONDON TRIUMPHING* (1612) commanded the twelve companies to 'guard this new Troy'.⁴⁸ As a further reflection of the mythology of the Court, the London building companies, and that of the masons in particular, traced their origins back to the building of Solomon's temple as celebrated in the lore of the craft guilds.⁴⁹ With Stuart London frequently projected as the New Jerusalem in Court sermons, the twelve tribes of Israel became a natural biblical model for the twelve companies themselves. Further, in discussing the nobility of these companies, Edmund Bolton observed that their Roman counterpart, 'the Knights or Gentlemen of *Rome*, professing Merchandise', had their 'Hall, or seat of their Colledge, or companie upon Mount *Capitoline* itselfe, dedicated to their patron Deity, or tutelarie God-head, *Mercurie*'.⁵⁰ Indeed, Mercury featured alongside other figures derived from Neoplatonic mythology in the Lord Mayor's procession through the city in 1620. In this way the city companies celebrated Platonic themes which were central to the image of Stuart monarchy.

The open study of Cabala and indeed experimentation with alchemy of the Paracelsian type were evidently not taboo in Stuart church circles. John Thornborough, Bishop of Bristol and Worcester, was an adept whose (1621) *dealt* with nothing less than the hidden process for creating the philosopher's stone and transmutations in the tradition of philosophical alchemy. The Hermetic philosopher and Paracelsian Robert Fludd dedicated his *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (1623) to the Bishop, and Thornborough's chemical medicines were even supplied to James.⁵¹ Alchemy was cited elsewhere in Thornborough's work as part of his lifelong defence of the Stuart union and concept of 'Great Britain', 'because it was our most ancient, and is the more honourable name', as he declared to Parliament in 1641.⁵² This union under the British Solomon once again followed that of Brute and Arthur,⁵³ but was conceived by Thornborough in alchemical terms for he hoped

that by Union in name of Brittaines, we may leave to be any longer divided into English and Scottish.... the rather, because the elements of fire and water, of earth and aire, being of repugnant qualities, yet

joyned in one body, doe agree in one forme, as in a *Medium* uniting
and mixing them together.

(Thornborough 1641:78–9)

Thornborough equally cited the microcosm-macrocosm analogy in defence of the union, a virtuous state since ‘as the divine *Plato* sealed up in man, the lesser world, whatsoever vertue was in the whole world’,⁵⁴ so ‘herein let natures workmanship in our naturall bodies leade us to the imitation of her wisdom, in the government of bodies civill’.⁵⁵ He concludes that ‘the golden age of Britaines Monarchy is come againe’, for ‘another *Arthur* King of all great Britain raigneth’.⁵⁶ With Stuart Britain thus characterised as a restoration of Albion in Court mythology, the corollary of this was the concept cultivated by the church of an ancient British religion which had prefigured the Reformed faith. For following its foundation as the New Troy, Albion had naturally been chosen by God as the celestial New Jerusalem.

THE IDEAL OF MYSTIC KINGSHIP AND THE ANCIENT THEOLOGY IN COURT SERMONS

For many Stuarts including James himself, Rome was the seat of the Anti-Christ, Babylon, traditionally associated with Christian persecution. One sermon⁵⁷ at the commencement of Stuart rule noted that during

the first three hundred yeeres the true Christians who worshipped one onely God.... had been persecuted by Pagan Rome, even so the worshippers of this true adoration have beene cruelly persecuted during the three hundred years of the first period, by Rome disguised with a Christian maske.

(Gordon 1604c: 41–2)

According to early Stuart apologists, it was James’s ‘Ilands and Kingdome’ which God chose ‘as a refuge for the true Christians which fled from the saide persecutions’.⁵⁸ The existence of this native race of pre-popish Christians was an essential element of early Protestant propaganda, in representing an antique counterpart to the Reformed faith. It was this pure religion which had supposedly animated the ‘Protestantised’ chivalric tradition exemplified by Arthur (according to Geoffrey, Arthur had himself marched on Rome), and was thought to have flourished until the arrival of the popish monk, Augustine, and death of the last British king, Cadwallader. In the context of philosophical alchemy, medieval romances such as *The Quest of the Holy Grail* (c.1225) came to be interpreted as the search for the secrets of nature within British shores, secrets in which Christ had naturally been initiated and which the Grail enshrined. In this way the Grail legend came to represent a further sign

of Britain's status as the chosen land. The cultivation of these legends helped define the nature of the ancient faith 'restored' by Henry VIII and gave a national sanction to the general Hermetic stimulus to Catholic reform in Europe.

In echoing the general Protestant claim for England as the New Jerusalem, George Marcelline's *The Triumphs of King James the First* (published in 1610 with a dedication to Prince Henry) hailed Stuart Britain as the promised land, for James

hath contributed more alone by himself, to build the Temple of God, and to reforme the service therein, then all the Kinges together have done.... and by the same Divinity of Our King, which is his cheefest practise, his owne advise, in assaying to restore the little wandering flocke to the folde of the Church, by a National counsel, or one Oecumenical or Universall, it cannot but bee hoped.... In breefe, *It is the Land of Promise*, which God reserved to himselfe in Christendome, where he hath so long time kept the Booke open, and the Revelation of his Prophetick and Evangelical! Mysteries. God himselfe Husbanded the Garden of that Country.

(Marcelline 1610:58, 76, 88)

The Stuart Garden of England was thus projected in Court propaganda as the location of paradise before the Fall. As a sign of Britain's status as the restored Eden, Marcelline concluded that, in its newly reunited state, 'it hath a copious Sunne, Corne, Cloath, Wools, Waters, Beastes, Fish, Foule, and all kindes of wilde flesh, in most great facility and felicity'.⁵⁹ Through being seen as direct descendants of Adam, the ancient Britons with their pure religion were naturally understood by Protestant apologists such as Marcelline to have been initiated in God's 'Evangelical Mysteries' comprising the Book of Nature which Eden had made manifest. Following Spenser, the ancient theology associated in Hermetic mythology with Egypt was thus brought within the framework of the Stuart 'House of Chivalry' and its ancestry of supernatural kings, whose rule had sought expression through the antique 'truth of architecture' pictured in the *Barriers*. In this context the traditional idea that Stuart architecture primarily sought to imitate (and express) Italian stylistic models ignores the background of this foreign architectural style in pagan and Catholic worship and consequently is surely misplaced.

Sermons preached before Parliament or the king, whether at Whitehall or St Paul's, constituted an important channel for expressing this conception of a restored British ancient theology. John Gordon, for example, often preached at Court, James having singled him out 'with a speciall encomion, that he was a man well travailled in the auncients'.⁶⁰ Gordon was convinced of the historical justification for the Elizabethan settlement, and hence in his sermons church history inevitably came to foretell James's rule.⁶¹ In 1604 he urged that 'in the three realmes united under the power, and commaund of your royall Majesty, that beeing bound together, they may represent the three

persons of the Trinitye in one deity'.⁶² James's divinity was here akin to that of Hermes Trismagistus in its reflection of the Trinity. As an aspect of his general apocalyptic-Cabalist message, Gordon's sermon *The Peace of the Communion of the Church of England* (1612) fused Christian theology with the Egyptian religion taught by Hermes.⁶³ Renaissance Cabalism represented a revival of the true ancient theology to Gordon and hence the source for all Protestant ceremonial; on 28 April 1605, it was recorded,⁶⁴

Deane Gordon, preaching before the kinge, is come so farre about in matter of ceremonies, that out of Ezechiell and other places of the prophets, and by certain hebrue characters, and other cabalisticall collections, he hath founde out and approved the use of the crosse cap surplis et ct.

(Gordon 1605)

Gordon had been presented at the Hampton Court conference in January 1604 as 'Deane of Sarum' and in the same year he preached to James *ENOTIKON OR A SERMON OF the Union of Great Brittainie, in antiquite of language, name, religion and Kingdome*.⁶⁵ Here the Act of Union under Stuart rule became the fulfilment of a prophecy 'mystically' contained in the name 'Brit-an-iah', a word of Hebrew origin signifying the land of God's Covenant,⁶⁶

wee must seeke the Etymologie of Britannia, out of the Hebrew language, which is Brit-an-iah, and doth consist of three words. Brit signifieth, foedus, a covenant; an, ibi, there: iah *Dei*, of God...that is, in this Iland the covenant of God was to be established. The proper names of men, and places in the renued world was propheticall, for they did contain mystically within them prophecies of things that were to fall out afterwards.

(Gordon 1604b: 22–4)

It was a commonplace of Neoplatonic philosophy to look for hidden signs of past or future events in names, and 'weigh what they promise or portend, as in an interlaced misticall Cipher', as Marcelline noted in 1610. This could work through the numerical length of the name (enabling the identification of 'James' with 'Jesus' for example), and the special qualities these perfect numbers were understood to possess with reference to Pythagorean numerology and biblical chronology, as Marcelline explained:

And comming to Divination, by the numbers appropriated to their Carracters, excogitated first of all by *Pythagoras*, the Traditions whereof are no other thing, but a very Hebrew *Cabala*, grounded upon this place in the Booke of *wisedome*: God hath made al things in number, waight, and measure.... Letters do containe in them (mistically) certain numbers, and that in the proper names of

persons, some secret matter is contained of their Fortunes and Destinies.

(Marcelline 1610:42, 55–6)

Hence Marcelline proceeded by observing that the king's

perfection likewise is seen in this, that he hath the name of *James* the sixt of *Scotland*. Sixe being the signe of accomplishment called...and chosen of God (without any doubt) the sixt of *Scotland*, to be the first, not onely of *Great Brittain*, but also everie where. Because in this *Unitie*, the *Veritie* is founde, who is but *Onely One*, and as *Mercurias Trismegistus* saith, *The beginning and the roote of All*.

(Marcelline 1610:60, 62)

The belief in the prophetic power of names sprang from the wider quest of Renaissance alchemy and Cabalism to discover the original language of Adam which, it was thought, had encapsulated the secrets of nature and been spoken before the building of Babel and the confusion of tongues. As heirs to Solomon in the land of the Covenant, the early British Christians of Protestant mythology naturally spoke this language of God and, reflecting the origins of Christian Cabalism, Gordon identified this language as Hebrew. He noted that 'we must search the derivation of *Anglia*, out of the originall language',⁶⁷ and that James's union had restored this ancient theological purity, for 'the restitution of the auncient name of Britannie, is a testimonie of the union of language, kingdome, and religion'.⁶⁸ In searching for the primitive language, Jones's assistant John Webb mirrored this Cabalistic commonplace when noting 'great Mysteries are involved, as nothing hitherto in all the Learning of the World can either excel or equal';⁶⁹ indeed, Webb also looked to the Hebrew 'for the mysterious significations of the proper names of men, in which Prophetical predictions were contained'.⁷⁰

For early Stuart apologists such as Gordon and Marcelline, these linguistic signs all pointed to the imminent overthrow of the Anti-Christ and the full re-establishment of the true, ancient British church under James as a natural prelude to the New Jerusalem of biblical prophecy. Hence Marcelline predicted that the 'kingdome of Antechrist...shall bee wholly overthrowne by *Our Prince*, accomplished in his Numbers', since for the past thousand years the Anti-Christ in the guise of the Pope had attempted to 'annihilate the true and invisible Church'.⁷¹ As an aspect of this apocalyptic historical scheme, and as a corollary of the themes of Christian chivalry and national union emphasised in the Trojan-Arthurian mythology, early Court apologists were led to identify James with the antique-biblical models of mystic kingship under whom the true church and its ancient theology had flourished, namely Solomon, Christ, and Constantine.

In preaching his Cabalistic vision of Britain as the New Jerusalem, Gordon saw James's act of national union as foreshadowed by Solomon's restoration and reunification of the primitive faith (and original language); the physical symbol of this was the temple, after the building of which 'was established the kingdome of God in earth, which was joynd with the united estate of the temporall and worldly kingdome'.⁷² Indeed here we have the symbolic purpose behind the later Stuart 'restoration' of St Paul's: for it was through James's rule and works that 'God hath builded his Temple in the *Spiritual Jerusalem*'.⁷³ In echoing the general Stuart concept of 'restoration', Gordon urged that James 'should finish the full delivery and restoring of Israel, and of the Churches of your realmes'.⁷⁴

Primitive Christianity was understood to have been established in Britain by the Apostles themselves. For it was claimed that Joseph of Arimathea lay buried at Glastonbury, having preached in Britain long before the arrival of the popish monk Augustine, and Albion thus became the burial land of the Holy Grail. According to Gordon in *ENOTIKON*:

we read in *Theodoretus*, *Metaphrastes*, and *Nicephorus*, that *S. Paul*, *S. Peter*, *Joseph of Arimathea*, and *Simon Zelotes* did preach the Evangell of Christ in Brittannie, that is, the new covenant between God and man: at which time this said Iland of great Britannie did beare the same name of Gods covenant as it doth now.

(Gordon 1604b: 26)

As the repository for the secrets of nature enshrined in the Grail, it follows that Britain for Gordon 'before all nations first publikely received the Faith of Christ'.⁷⁵ According to Stuart mythology, once again with Geoffrey of Monmouth as the source, primitive Christianity was first fully established under the ancient British King Lucius,⁷⁶ who thus took his place between Brute and Arthur in James's official ancestry. He is pictured alongside Constantine with James on the Banqueting House ceiling (see Figure 1).⁷⁷ James Howell's *LONDONOPOLIS* (1657) noted that the parish church of St Peter upon Cornhill carried a tablet recording that King Lucius had 'founded the same church' and a faith which 'continued the space of four hundred years, unto the coming of *Augustine* the Monk'.⁷⁸ This tablet also celebrated the popular myth of London as the Archbishop's See, before its removal by Augustine to Canterbury. In this sense the restoration of St Paul's was also, in spirit, a restoration of the metropolitan seat of the ancient British church itself, a theme implied by Dugdale when citing London's original primacy in his *History* of the Stuart cathedral.⁷⁹

The history of Lucius's ancestral church was used in Court propaganda and art to justify the position of the British church in subservience to the wishes of the Crown, a view of the episcopate reinforced by Geoffrey's report of the birth of Constantine in Britain, son of a British princess.⁸⁰ For it was from a British base that, according to Geoffrey, Constantine had spread his Christian

empire, first to Rome and then to the Orient, and thus, Gordon reports, 'by all these victories this British King became Emperour, King, and Monarche of the whole world'.⁸¹ Hence the ruins of antiquity which Inigo Jones viewed on his travels, by association with Constantine's rule, according to Court mythology became centred on Britain as the birthplace of the 'Christianised' Roman empire. Since Constantine represented the archetype of the British Christian prince,⁸² indeed the very founder of the royal house to which Arthur belonged, James became 'our newe *Constantinus*'.⁸³ This sought to emphasise James's role as Protestant head of a reunited Holy Roman Empire in rivalry to the Pope and the church of Rome. Marcelline's Protestant vision of a true church animated by the mysteries of Christian Cabalism was realised 'at this time, having a *Constantine* amongst your selves'.⁸⁴ Through Constantine's British birth, Gordon even traced national links to the Golden Age of Augustus and age of Christ's nativity, since the 'beginning of the foundation of Christs kingdome was in the age of a generall peace established by *Augustus*'.⁸⁵ As the 'person of a *British Emperour*', James was 'borne the lawfull and undoubted heire of these three auncient Imperiall Crowns of the west'.⁸⁶ This ideal of mystic kingship both justified and was proclaimed by Jones's Court architecture. His project for a new triumphal arch at Temple Bar, for example, directly reflected this mythology, based as it was on Constantine's arch (see Figure 40). In the proposed physical 'restoration' of churches, James inherited the virtuous endeavours of Edward and Elizabeth as 'the first which have built upon this foundation after *Constantine*',⁸⁷ whilst according to James Howell much of Stuart London lay over an ancient city built by Constantine, 'which took up in compasse, above three miles, so that it inclosed the Model of the City almost four-square'.⁸⁸

For Gordon, and for early Stuart Protestants in general, there were thus three distinct periods of true religion which flourished under the imperial rule of Solomon, Constantine, and their successor, James himself. These were presented as having originated in Britain, as indeed its very name was seen to signify. In this, sacred drama and Geoffrey's narrative became intertwined,⁸⁹ and the advent of national unity not only formed part of this scheme but, in constituting Britain as the New Jerusalem, was seen as its very conclusion. For in this chronology the establishment of empire formed a necessary prelude to the triumphal renewal heralded by the Apocalypse, and each was thus one aspect of a single historical view.⁹⁰ In proclaiming this apocalyptic historical scheme, John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* was reprinted in the light of the Gunpowder Treason in 1610 and again in 1632. Hence in its place at the end of this vast religious process and in embodying the Platonic virtues expressed in *Britannia Triumphans*, the 'restored' cathedral was meant to usher in and physically express this triumph of the restored kingdom of Christ on earth. For ultimately nothing of lesser significance could surely have justified such an ambitious, costly project to a frequently bankrupt Court. Indeed, the physical state of St Paul's had traditionally represented a magical sign of God's favour; the Catholic apologist James Pilkington, for example, presented the burning

of the steeple in 1561 as the end of a series of historical retributions provoked by the English defection from Catholic ranks.⁹¹

With the Neoplatonic Renaissance thus centred on Britain, for many Calvinists including Gordon such divinely inspired knowledge became the inheritance of the British church in its supreme, independent position. For, according to this view, had not Moses himself forbidden the use of images and thus, by implication, condemned their popular use in Rome?⁹² In this imperial propaganda London, as the Protestant New Jerusalem, would replace Rome at the centre of the reunited world. However, for others Cabalism was the language of ecumenism, holding the power to heal the rift between the churches. Cabalistic and Hermetic mythology naturally implied a common religious and antique inheritance for both Protestants and Catholics alike, which was emphasised in the Hermetic quest for God's universal language. In this spirit, the medieval alchemist Ramon Lull had attempted to use a Christian Cabalism to unite the separate cultures of Spain. Irenic Hermeticism (albeit in differing forms) had prompted the 'Protestant' John Dee⁹³ and the 'heretical Catholic' Giordano Bruno⁹⁴ to travel on missions of union between 1584 and 1586, and later motivated Lord Herbert of Cherbury to publish *De Veritate* (in Paris in 1624, and London in 1645) as a manifesto for religious agreement.⁹⁵ In reflecting the influence of Herbert on Laud,⁹⁶ the Laudians, through their emphasis on a common past with Rome and rejection of the identification of the Pope as Anti-Christ, might naturally have been more sympathetic to such ecumenical Hermeticism. In short Cabalism, as a record of a past British wisdom, could be used to justify either religious independence or union and the iconography and ceremonies which expressed these ambitions. These Protestant ceremonies were even approved, as for Gordon, through reference to this magical world. This ambiguity was also reflected in Court art, with Jones's early design for the west front of St Paul's displaying at its apex an 'IHS' monogram (see Figure 27)—a sign identified at the time as popular with the Jesuits⁹⁷—whilst this was absent on the built façade which proclaimed a contrary Protestant imperialism through the statues and portico inscription discussed earlier.

INIGO JONES'S NEOPLATONIC EMBLEM OF 'ALBION AND JERUSALEM'

An important cornerstone of Geoffrey of Monmouth's narrative was the enigmatic monument on Salisbury plain, Stonehenge. According to Geoffrey the stones had once been called the *Chorea Gigantum* or Giant's Dance because in remote times they had been brought by giants from Africa to Ireland. There they had stood, on Mount Killaraus, until their magical transportation by Merlin to Salisbury plain. Merlin was commended to the ancient British King Aurelius,

I wot that never another man in thy kingdom is there that is brighter of wit than he, whether it be in foretelling that which shall be or in

devising engines of artifice. Bid him come hither and set his wits to work, and I warrant he shall build thee a memorial to last!

(Geoffrey of Monmouth 1963: VIII, 10, 163)

Geoffrey maintained that Aurelius was buried within the Giant's Ring, together with Uther Pendragon and Constantine III. As a product of Merlin's magic, Stonehenge thus became a monument to the Albion mythology cultivated by English monarchy up to and including James.⁹⁸ Stonehenge has also played its part in architectural history itself, and this is reflected in particular in the work of Inigo Jones and his pupil, John Webb.

As the Introduction pointed out, discussions of Inigo Jones traditionally stress the influence of his visits to Italy, noting his admiration for the architecture of the Venetian master, Andrea Palladio. Jones was, however, also interested in British architectural heritage: when the antiquarian John Aubrey visited Jones's manor near Glastonbury, for example, 'in a large Parlour' were drawings of 'stately Castles'.⁹⁹ Antiquarian interests were naturally stimulated by mysterious stone monuments, chief amongst which was Stonehenge. The curiosity of James I had been aroused by the stones when staying nearby, at Wilton House, and Jones in his role as the 'Surveyor' of the king's works was commanded to investigate. Jones surveyed Stonehenge in 1620, assisted by Webb who eventually published the study under the title *The Most Notable Antiquity of Great Britain, vulgarly called STONEHENG on SALISBURY PLAIN, RESTORED* (1655).¹⁰⁰

In rejecting Geoffrey's specific attribution to Merlin, Jones believed he had discovered nothing less than a temple built by the ancient Romano-British on Salisbury plain, and 'a shew (as it were) of that first face of *Antiquity*'.¹⁰¹ According to Jones each stone was a decayed Tuscan column, indeed identical to those he himself was to use on St Paul's Cathedral and for the first Protestant church built with the Orders in Britain, St Paul's at Covent Garden (see Figure 38). On the Banqueting House ceiling Rubens's characterisation of British mythology is composed within a circular temple of the Tuscan Order (see Figure 1). The Tuscan was the most simple of the Orders described by Vitruvius and was in general traced back, via an etymological leap through Etruscan to Trojan.¹⁰² The frontispiece to Drayton's *PolyOlbia* (1613) constitutes an emblem of the magical antiquity which the work outlines, with Brute and Caesar pictured surmounting columns of the Tuscan Order. In this way the Tuscan was itself presented as an emblem for the Golden Ages of Troy and Rome. Jones's 'restoration' of Stonehenge as an antique temple thus conformed with the general Court theme of a glorious British magical antiquity restored, compatible for example with Carew's ruins of a great city of the 'ancient Romans or civilised Britons'. Indeed, in *STONEHENG Restored* Jones notes that the Romans had made the Britons 'skilfull in erecting sumptuous *Palaces*, stately *Portico*'s, and publick places', for 'our *Britains*, in ancient time possessed, together with the *Roman* civility, all

good *Arts*'.¹⁰³ Commenting on the emblematic quality of the Tuscan Order he writes,

The *Romans* for so notable a structure as *Stoneheng*, made choice of the *Tuscane* rather than any other *Order*; not only as best agreeing with the rude, plain, simple nature of those they intended to instruct, and use for which erected; but also...they might take occasion thereby, to magnifie to those then living the virtue of their *Auncestors* for so noble an invention, and make themselves the more renowned to posterity, for erecting thereof, so well ordred a building.

(Jones 1655:68)

Hence, perhaps, the use by Jones of this Order on St Paul's Cathedral and for the 'stately portico' of St Paul's Church in Covent Garden physically represented the 'plain, simple' ancient British church—held in Protestant propaganda to have been established in Britain by St Paul himself. As such the rustic Tuscan Order became a sign of rural authenticity in the context of the city, in composing at Covent Garden what Jones himself described as 'the handsomest barn in England'.¹⁰⁴ This was in contrast to the Corinthian Order used on the royal portico to St Paul's. Through the use of this inherently British architecture the new Protestant churches, though apparently in an imported Roman architectural style, would express their own parallel claims to British origins free of any pagan Roman impurity whilst remaining equal to Roman splendour. For Jones, Stonehenge itself became an emblem for the Roman empire, built as it was in 'such a flourishing Age, as when *Architecture* in rare perfection, and such *People* lookt upon, as by continuall succeſſe, attaining unto the sole power over *Arts*, as well as *Empires*, commanded all'.¹⁰⁵ It was a customary humanist view that the Romans reached the height of empire and art at the same moment,¹⁰⁶ a view mirrored in Stuart imperial pretension to a renewed Golden Age.

Although Jones's Romano-British argument leads him to reject Geoffrey's claims for Merlin as the architect of Stonehenge, Jones nevertheless expresses a faith in the British chronicles of Bede, William of Malmesbury, and Roger of Hoveden. Since none makes reference to Stonehenge, Jones finds nothing to contradict in these, 'the most ancient and authentick *British* Historians'.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, near Stonehenge at the 'Monastery of Ambresbury' (Amesbury Abbey, Wiltshire) Jones describes a tomb which had been discovered bearing the inscription 'R.G.A.C. 600',

Concerning which Tomb...why might it not be the Sepulchre of Queen *Guinever*, wife of King *Arthur*, especially the Letters *R.G.* as much to say, *Regina Guinevera*, declaring her title and name; and the date *An. Chr. 600* (if truly copied) agreeing (possibly well enough) with the time of her death? Besides, *Leyland* affirms, severall Writers make mention, she took *upon her a Nuns veil* at Ambresbury, *died, and was*

buried there...he will by no means allow...her body to be... buried by her husband King Arthur at Glastenbury.

(Jones 1655:25)

With Arthur later reported as having received his 'deaths wound' in Cornwall,¹⁰⁸ this story represents one of the few asides in Jones's discussion on Stonehenge. It shows not only the vitality of the Arthurian mythology for the architect, but also the West Country area around Stonehenge constituted as the legend's 'Christianised' domain.

As a further strand to the British myth, Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* presented ancient British, and specifically Welsh, priests or Druids as the native heirs of biblical and antique Cabalism, in succession to Hermes, Orpheus, Pythagoras, and the Sibyls.¹⁰⁹

For the *Druids*, being in profession very proportionat in many things to *Cabalistique* and *Pythagorean* doctrine, may well be supposed much ancients than any that had note of learning among the *Romans*... they permitted not commission, of their Lectures and instructions, to the custody of writing, but delivered all in a multitude of Verses and *Pythagorean* precepts, exactly imitating the *Cabalists*.

(Drayton 1613: X, 167–8)

For Drayton, Druid priests formed part of the heroic line including Brute, Constantine, Arthur, and St George, which culminated with the Order of the Garter and the future Mercurian monarch, Prince Henry, to whom Drayton's work was dedicated; later, as part of the celebration of national mythology in *Coelum Britannicum* a chorus of Rivers and Druids hail a new radiant light in the person of the queen. Indeed, as late as 1652 Elias Ashmole was anxious to assert the antiquity of the Hermetic philosophy in Britain, derived from the Druids, since

Our English Nation hath ever been happy for Learning and Learned men.... As first, the Druydae (the famous and mysterious Druydae) that were Priests, Divines, and Wise men.... As for Magick, Pliny tells us, It flourished in Britaine, and that the People there were so devoted to it (yea, with all the Complements of Ceremony) a man would think that even the Persian learned his Magick thence.

(Ashmole 1652: A2v-Ar)

Although Jones's argument for a Romano-British pedigree for Stonehenge necessitates his rejection of Druid builders, he follows this common Stuart notion of the Druids as priests initiated in the ancient Egyptian mysteries. For with reference to Pliny's discussion on Druid magic, Jones asserts that

the Druids were held in 'great esteeme' in ancient times as 'the Bishops and Clergy of that Age',¹¹⁰ and regarded it

the highest secret of their mystery, rather to command in caves and cottages, then live like Kings, in Palaces, and stately houses. They were too wise, knew too well, 'twas their humility, integrity, retired manner of life, and pretended sanctity possest the people with an awfully reverend esteem of them.

(Jones 1655:4)

Geoffrey's chronicle concluded with Wales as the refuge of the last of the descendants of Brute, and it is this native Welsh race of magician-priests, at one with nature, which Jones regarded as of rich potential for conversion to Roman imperial virtue.

In 'restoring' Stonehenge as a Romano-British temple, the ground-plot of the crumbling stones (Figure 10) was moulded by Jones into the Vitruvian theatre plan (see Figure 19) as an embodiment of general antique virtue. The plan was based on a circle and triangles, the geometrical norms of Platonic cosmology. Although this theatrical source is not acknowledged by Jones, in implying a temple-theatre analogy he followed his contemporaries who conceived of the theatre as a representation of the cosmos, a moral emblem or temple.¹¹¹ Further, Jones argued that Stonehenge had once been dedicated to the Roman god Coelus, as evidenced in particular by this emblematic geometry. Coelus was closely related to Mercury. According to Natalis Comes, one of the main Renaissance sources for Neoplatonic emblematics, the first God to exist was Mercury, who created and thereafter controlled everything;¹¹² out of Chaos, the original substance, he formed Coelus, who in turn became a creator. In a direct translation of the Christian scheme into classical terms, Mercury, patron of rhetoric, is placed first because in the beginning was the Word and he is the embodiment and patron of the highest and most secret wisdom. This represented a pagan creation myth reorganised around a Christian hierarchy, and was thus in line with the general 'Christianisation' of Hermetic mythology. Jones himself makes reference to Comes's *Mythologiae* (1567) when discussing Stonehenge's antiquity.¹¹³ Hence in being dedicated to the god from whom, according to Jones, 'all things took their beginning',¹¹⁴ Jones's Romano-British Platonic temple can be seen to have come to represent the origin of his own work in particular. Indeed, as an example of the common post-Renaissance quest for architectural purity, in its primitive simplicity Jones's Stonehenge paralleled the general identification of the origins of antique architecture with the primitive hut, as described by Vitruvius (II.i.2–3).¹¹⁵

The popular search for the origins of Jones's work in Italy and dismissal of his Stonehenge thesis on the grounds of illogicality have, I suggest, obscured the importance of Stonehenge to the Jones-Webb partnership. Jones's survey represented not an isolated study but a key foundation of his

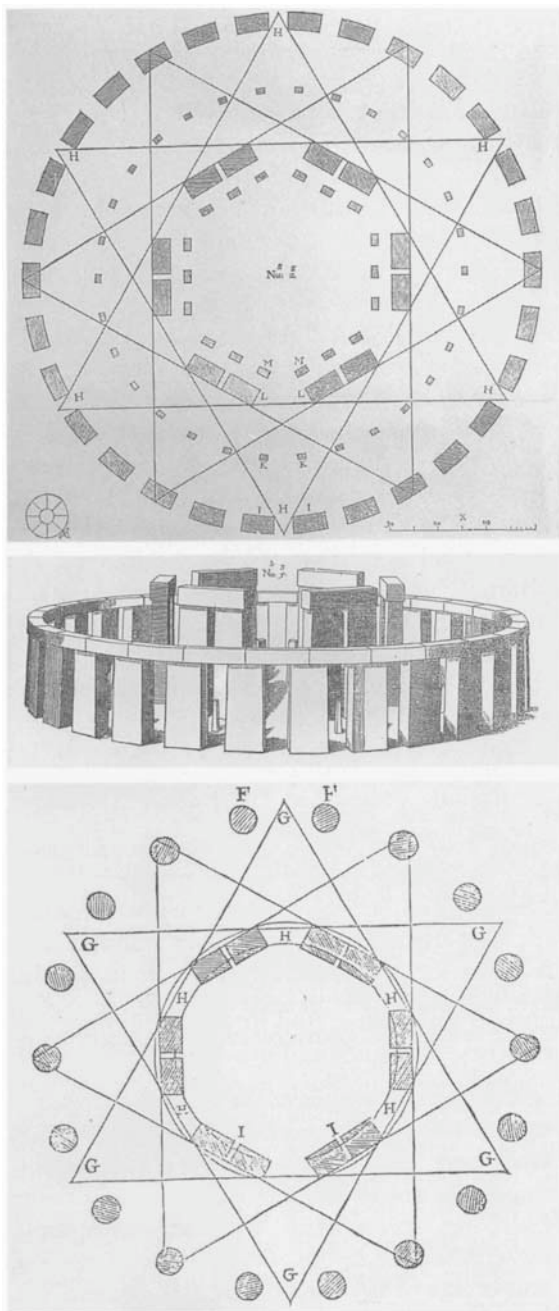


Figure 10 Stonehenge according to Inigo Jones. Woodcut plan of the whole layout of Stonehenge, view of stones and generalised Romano-British temple from Jones's *STONE-HENG Restored*, London (1655 edn). (Courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.)

work and emblem for its magical Britannic antiquity, 'restored' as Stonehenge was with reference to Neoplatonic mythology. Indeed, the very illogicality and contortion of the evidence in *STONE-HENG Restored* is in itself proof of the monument's importance to him, and it follows that it was this significance which led Webb to publish the 'restoration' after Jones's death. Bolstered by associations with Harvey and Selden and with its dedication to the influential Pembroke family,¹¹⁶ the Stonehenge study became a justification and explanation in retrospect of all that the Britannic-classicism of the Jones-Webb partnership had been about. This would account for Webb's need to publish a defence of Jones's argument, entitled *A VINDICATION OF Stone-Heng Restored* (1665),¹¹⁷ just two years after it was attacked by one Dr Walter Charleton in his own explanation of the monument entitled *CHOREA GIGANTUM* (1663). Charleton regarded Jones as having built 'Castles in the Air' and (not incorrectly) dismissed his Stonehenge 'restoration' as a 'dream'.¹¹⁸ It follows from this Stuart theme of British antiquity that Jones was interested in Italy because he understood it to speak of Britain; in other words, Italian ruins were seen essentially as a mirror to British antiquity. This offers a new insight into the popular title for Jones as the 'Vitruvius Britannicus' or 'English Vitruvius',¹¹⁹ and into Webb's presentation of the architect in his preface to *STONE-HENG Restored* as the 'Vitruvius of his age'. For this would seem intended not as a unique compliment or hyperbole but to imply the inheritance of a lost British title, one which in a past age had ennobled the very architect of Stonehenge itself. In its 'restored' state Stonehenge became the Neoplatonic emblem or arms of this Vitruvian ancestry. The emblem or arms of James cast as the British Solomon is equally traceable in the interlocked, triangular geometry of Stonehenge.

Renaissance Neoplatonism was thus used as a key expression and confirmation of the Stuart claim to have restored a heroic British antiquity perhaps best entitled 'Albion and Jerusalem'.¹²⁰ This comprised a chronicle of Trojan and later Roman occupation, ancestors of civilised, pre-popish Britons who were identified with the magical chivalry of King Arthur. Despite their Catholic allegiance, this history embraced the later Crusaders, whilst as part of Marcelline's Cabalistic eulogy on Stuart rule he even urged a new conquest of the Holy Land. Hence, apparently thus supported by the hazy antiquity of Troy itself, Protestant apologists and Court artists projected this past national equality with and independence from Rome to bolster contemporary British imperial claims. And in appearing to provide convenient archaeological evidence for this antiquity, Jones's Romano-British Stonehenge played its part, however unlikely, in the Stuart Court's rivalry with the royalty of Catholic Europe. As a malleable allegory this national mythology could be temporarily inverted, as in the anti-masque for example, to serve as a warning against disunity or black magical forces which might disrupt the natural order and lead the state to chaos.¹²¹ Geoffrey's ancient British King Lear had been used by Shakespeare in much the same way.¹²² Lear's

fateful threefold division of the kingdom echoed the early misfortune that befell Albion on the death of Brute, 'by the diuision and assignement thereof', as James himself was to note, 'to the three sonnes of *Brutus*';¹²³ hence the Lear story was seen by contemporaries to prognosticate a disaster that James had averted. This history not only validated the otherwise new Stuart monarchy itself, but provided a national pedigree and context for emerging Renaissance arts such as the masque and Vitruvian architecture which were patronised to express the royal cause. As such this represented a late, and indeed final, example of an attempt by a European Renaissance monarchy to restore the supposed magical, antique Golden Age through art.

III

'A peece rather of good Heraldry, than of Architecture'

HERALDRY AND THE ARCHITECTURAL ORDERS AS JOINT EMBLEMS OF THE 'HOUSE OF BRITISH CHIVALRY'

THE STUART 'GARDEN OF HEROICAL DEVICES'

At the heart of Hermetic aspirations to restore nature to its Arcadian state lay the idea that recorded in the *Corpus Hermeticum* were the secrets of nature, secrets which had been expressed in the original language of God's Book of Nature but were lost at the time of the building of the tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues. Prompted by the Book of Scripture and its reference to Adam's speech (Genesis 2: 19), it was thought that Adam and his successors, Hermes, Solomon, and Moses, had been initiated in this arcane language. As part of the quest by Neoplatonists for this lost wisdom, ancient languages were studied and various claims made for their authenticity as derivations of the original language, and thus as the origin of Renaissance magic itself. The characters of Hebrew, of Chinese, and, most popular of all, those of the picture language of the Egyptians, hieroglyphics, all had their champions. It was noted in the previous chapter that as a late example in this tradition, John Webb published *AN HISTORICAL ESSAY Endeavoring a Probability that the LANGUAGE of the Empire of CHINA is the Primitive LANGUAGE* (1669), quoting the arguments of the great contemporary Hermetic philosopher Athanasius Kircher.¹ The counter-claims for Egyptian characters stemmed from the discovery in 1419 of a manuscript describing hieroglyphics supposedly written by an ancient priest, Horapollo.² Hermes was himself held in Hermetic mythology to be the inventor of hieroglyphics, using them as a means of recording divine truth and concealing it from the uninitiated. In the course of his study, Webb outlined the Egyptian origin of Hermes and noted that the Egyptian priests made use of hieroglyphics 'to keep their Arcana *Theologiae & Imperii* sealed up'.³ Hieroglyphics were thus thought to encapsulate the secrets of nature contained within the ancient theology as it passed from Zoroaster and Hermes to Orpheus, Pythagoras, and Plato.

Horapollo's work was published as the *Hieroglyphica* in 1505 and greatly stimulated the Neoplatonists' belief in the supremacy of the picture as partaking of the essence of *Ideas*. The composition of hieroglyphics in the Renaissance represented an esoteric art of magic, as the Introduction noted, and the symbolic language of alchemical and Platonic ideas.⁴ In Dee's *Monas hieroglyphica* (1564), for example, through its parts comprising a moon, cross, and sun, a single hieroglyph represented the Platonic structure itself from microcosm to macrocosm. A vast quantity of hieroglyphic, or emblem, books were published, most notably Andrea Alciati's *Emblemata*, first published in 1513, Piero Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*, first published in Latin in 1556 and translated into Italian in 1602, and Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* published in Rome in 1593. In fusing pseudo-Egyptian sources with Pythagorean mythology, medieval heraldry and various branches of early Renaissance Neoplatonism, the emblem book tradition which these constituted came to have an enormous influence on every aspect of Renaissance art, from costume design to architecture. Through their currency in translation, these works came to be widely regarded as conveying a form of international 'language' which itself appeared to confirm their status as representations of God's language before the confusion of tongues. As such it was expected they would help to heal the divisions among religions and nations, and restore the pristine unity of humankind.

Stuart apologists inevitably placed Britain at the centre of this European quest for the original language, as an essential sign of the country's status as the New Jerusalem. The early British Christians, when identified as children of Solomon in the land of the Covenant, spoke this language, and, as has been seen, for John Gordon the derivation of 'Anglia' came from the 'originall language', in this case Hebrew. In this spirit, hieroglyphics characterised Stuart Britain as the original garden in such works as *Minerva Britannia (or a Garden of Heroical Devices)* (1612), a book of British emblematics by Jones's friend, Henry Peacham.⁵ Peacham's dedication to Prince Henry made it clear that these were the emblematics of royal occult wisdom, akin to James's *Basilikon Doron*, 'those Divine Instructions, his *Majestie* your Royall *Father* praescribed unto you, your guide (as that golden branch to *ANEAS*,) to a vertuous & true happy life'; tradition held that the Golden Bough was the key to hidden knowledge. Peacham's emblematics obviously reflected the general Stuart presentation in masque of British antiquity as a magical paradise, and the reliance in the design of these productions on the emblem books themselves for characterisations of virtue and vice. Jonson made frequent reference to editions of Ripa's *Iconologia* and Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* when composing the poetics of masque, thus requiring the audience to decipher what he once referred to as 'removed mysteries',⁶ whilst both works were equally used by Jones in the design of costumes for symbolic characters.⁷ Even Jonson's stage directions in *The Masque of Queens* (1609), for example, explained the appearance of the figure of Fama bona:

'as she is described (in *Iconologia* di Cesare Ripa) attired in white, with white wings, having a collar of gold about her neck and a heart hanging at it, which Orus Apollo in his *Hieroglyphica* interprets the note of a good Fame' (lines 439–43). In the *Alchemist* (1610) Jonson makes explicit the way in which it was thought such emblems worked, ridiculing those who sought to misappropriate their secret power, and John Dee in particular, during a scene in which the alchemist designs a shop sign for one Abel Drugger:

Formed in some mystic character, whose radii,
 Striking the senses of the passers-by,
 Shall, by a virtual influence, breed affections...
 He first shall have a bell, that's Abel;
 And, by it, standing one whose name is Dee...
 There's Drugger, Abel Drugger. That's his sign.
 And here's now mystery and hieroglyphic!
 (II, vi, 16–24)

With Jones's work later similarly dismissed by Jonson as 'Court hieroglyphics',⁸ the alchemist composing his 'mystic character' can be compared to Jones describing his Romano-British 'restoration' of Stonehenge, designed or geometrically composed as it was with particular reference to Valeriano.⁹ Indeed, following Valeriano it was the monument's circular form which made Jones interpret Stonehenge as a 'Hieroglyphick' of Coelus. Jones's emblematics formed an essential component in the enactment of talismanic effects within masque, and perhaps it was hoped that the emblematic geometry traceable in his built work had the same relationship to the forces of nature. For it was through the comprehension and representation of such emblems in their arts that the Stuarts considered themselves in harmony with nature, as the ancient Britons had once been.

Closely related to this growing emblem literature was the established medieval pictorial art of heraldry and, when combined with a motto, Renaissance *imprese* shields and devices.¹⁰ Bruno's *De gli eroici furori*, published in England in 1585 and dedicated to Sidney, consisted of emblems with *imprese* shields and poetic descriptions (of which the later masques can be seen as a moving version). Thus coats of arms, emblems, and devices were assigned a common origin in Egypt. An anonymous letter of commendation in Samuel Daniel's 1585 translation of Paolo Giovio's *Dialogo dell'imprese militare et amorose* observes:

concerning the arte of *Imprese*, I neede not draw the petigree of it, sith it is knowne that it descended from the auncient *Aegiptians*, and *Chaldeans*.... This Philosophie was increased by *Orus Niliacus*, and *Pythagoras*...by the picture of a Stork they signified... [family devotion]. By a Serpent pollicie...drawing these Charecters from the world, as

from a volume wherein was written the wonders of nature. Thus was the first foundations layd of *Imprese*: From hence were derived by succession of pregnant wittes *Stemmata* Coates of Armes, *Insignia* Ensignes, and the olde Images which the *Romaines* used as witnesses of their Auncestors, *Emblemes* and *Deuises*.

(‘N.W.’ in Daniel 1585: unnumbered)

These links between heraldry and the picture language of ancient Egypt were made explicit by Edmund Bolton in *The Elements of Armories* (1610), where heraldry enjoys the title ‘the HIEROGLYPHICKS of Nobility’.¹¹ In the course of this, with reference to the works of Marsilio Ficino, Bolton even traced British ermine back to Hermes.¹² More specifically, heraldry became an important element in the Stuarts’ proclamation of a British magical antiquity restored under their rule. Peacham’s *Garden of Heroical Devices* identified his British heraldic designs with the Trojan Golden Age:

WHEN Troian youth went out into the field...
With naked Sword they marched, and their Shield
Devoid of charge, save only painted white:
Herein the Captaine with his hand did write,
(The Battaile done,) some Ensigne of his fame,
Who had by valour, best deserv’d the same.

(Peacham 1612:24)

The red cross of St George, which Spenser’s hero ‘Redcrosse’ in *The Faerie Queene* had worn on his shield, was adopted by the Order of the Garter as its emblem. Following its traditional role in signifying the ancestry of medieval British orders of chivalry and craft guilds, heraldry naturally came to express Stuart Court mythology more clearly than other art-forms.

On James’s accession to the English throne, the royal heraldry of Scotland was marshalled with that of England. At the same time the arms of Ireland were introduced, thus representing a celebration of the reunification of the ancient British kingdom of Geoffrey’s legend. In the frontispiece to Marcelline’s *Triumphs* (1610) James’s heraldry was pictured as a prelude to its interpretation as a ‘mystical’ hieroglyph, Marcelline drawing on Pythagorean numerology and Cabalistic mythology in deciphering ‘the secret sense which is hidden in his Armes’.¹³ The pearls of James’s regalia were, for example, ‘the Hieroglyphickes of his soules immaculate whitenesse or integrity, & do testifie unto the whole worlde, that hee is *Protector of Innocency and Truth*’.¹⁴ In this regalia the most explicit emblem of the monarch’s Arthurian ancestry was the Garter Sovereign’s gold medallion of St George and the Dragon, as pictured for example in Van Dyck’s famous portrait of Charles I on horseback.¹⁵ Marcelline linked this emblem to an amalgam of Romano-Arthurian mythology:

He is circled with a Girdle of Golde hanging before his brest, which is *The Collar of Saint George*: which was not forgotten by the Romaines themselves of the round Table, speaking of the two Dragons, white and red, delivered out of prison by *Merlin*, in the time of *K. Uter Pendragon*, father to King *Arthur*, who after a long & deadly fight, the white at length overcame the red. And now we may see a second surprize them.

(Marcelline 1610:21)

In Renaissance alchemical emblematics the good dragon of regeneration inevitably overcomes the evil one of putrefaction.¹⁶ Here Marcelline makes specific reference to Geoffrey's report of the prophecies of Merlin and his mysterious story of two warring dragons, forming part of a series of 'apocalyptic' battles between good and evil. Implied is the new battle of Protestant propaganda between, as Marcelline puts it, 'that old usurper, that Tyrant over so many Nations, the Pope himself' and St George's successor, '*Our white King James*'. It follows from the capacity of heraldry to embody spiritual virtue that Catholics with shame and false Ensigns...usurp the Title of Holy *Father*'.¹⁷ Royal heraldry was frequently employed to express the Stuart magical ancestry in masque. In James Shirley's *The Triumph of Peace* (1634), the heraldic union of Charles and Henrietta Maria, the English rose with the French lily, created an emblem which signified the flowering of an explicitly alchemical Golden Age.¹⁸ The subsequent masque, Carew's *Coelum Britannicum*, described the two royal *impreses*, the king's 'lion with an imperial crown on his head' (line 22) and the queen's 'lily growing with branches and leaves' (line 27), as a sign of the restoration of the ancient British magical virtues following the masque's source in Bruno's *Spaccio*. The lion featured in Brute's shield as pictured on the frontispiece to Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*, whilst Marcelline proclaimed the Stuart lion as an emblem for the Court's Solomonic ancestry when observing 'this *Great Solomon* upon his Throne, round engirt with Lions'.¹⁹ He added that James's lion 'lively figured on his bodie...is not without a very great mistery', and that the lilies of James's shield signified the stellified virtues of the Court, for 'they first came from heaven...this faire and Celestiall Flower'.²⁰

The presentation of Stuart heraldry in Court propaganda as an astrological sign of a promised British Golden Age reflected the tradition recording heraldry's supposed talismanic virtues, and the role in chivalric epics of the shield in particular in providing good fortune and magical protection—as exemplified in antiquity by the shields of Achilles and Aeneas. Gerard Legh's *The Accedence of Armory* (1562), in defining the art of heraldry with reference to alchemy and Cabala, related the Greek legend of how the goddess Pallas had helped Perseus to kill the Gorgon, Medusa, through the gift of a shield: this shield was kept in the city of Troy, and so long as it remained there the city was invincible. In the chivalric epics by Ariosto and Spenser a talismanic power was attributed to the shield through its reflection and embodiment of the

magical power of the sun (or Phoebus). In *Orlando furioso* the sorcerer's shield 'sends forth a light so sheer,/Whoever sees it, then and there must yield',²¹ whilst in the *Faerie Queene* Arthur's armour shines 'Like glauncing light of *Phoebus* brightest ray' (I, vii, 29). The earlier, medieval romance *The Quest of the Holy Grail* had celebrated the magical properties of a shield (again with a red cross on a white background) made by the son of Joseph of Arimathaea and worn by Sir Galahad as a sign of his status as the finest knight in Christendom. The heraldic device of Sir Gawain as described in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (c. 1400) was a Solomon's seal, for Gawain's five chivalrous virtues were symbolised by a five-pointed star painted on a shield: 'Then they schewed him the schelde, that was of schyre goutes/With the pentangel depaynt of pure gold hewes.../Hit is a syngne that Salamon set sumwhyle/In bytoknyng of trauthe by tittle that hit habbes' (lines 620–5). The pentagon was understood from antiquity onwards as a magical protective sign, having represented perfect spiritual and physical health in Pythagorean mysticism;²² in the Renaissance it was to become integral to the image of man the microcosm as drawn for example by Agrippa.²³ In this context Marcelline presented the divine nature of Stuart rule as being evidenced by both 'mystical' geometry, in the form of a Solomonian pentagon derived from the five letters of James's name, and by Pythagorean numerology, reflected by his marshalling of a single lion (Scotland) and harp (Ireland) with three lilies (France) and leopards (England). This comprised eight charges:

Eight, composed of this Royall unity of *Our Lyon*, and of the *English Septeuery*, doth make up the Armories perfect in all their measures; also by this fair mixture of numbers, that sweet harmony is made, which entertaineth and preserveth the whole kingdom in good peace and quietnesse.... That verily, and in effect, by all the periods and paralelles of his life, this is *Jacob*, according to the Hebrewes, and *James* in *Scottish*, the *Pentaphyllon*, or the name of five Letters, bearing the worde . The Pentagon, in former time Mysteriously revealed to King *Antiochus*, surnamed the Saviour, for the saving and conservation of his people.

(Marcelline 1610:33, 52)

The stories surrounding talismanic Arthurian shields formed the specific context for the use of shields within Stuart masque. As the Prince of Wales and therefore heir to Albion, Henry in the *Barriers* received his inheritance from Arthur symbolically encapsulated in a shield 'wherein is wrought/The truth that he must follow' (lines 95–6) (see Figure 7). In both the backdrop to this masque and its text arms and antique arts, architecture in particular, were harmoniously combined, 'For arms and arts sustain each other's right' (line 108). Indeed the theme of a specifically heraldic British architecture was made explicit throughout the *Barriers*, in which 'shields and swords/ Cobwebbed and rusty' united with the broken columns as remains of the once stellar 'House of British

Chivalry'. This was emphasised here by the ambiguity of the word 'house' as both architectural and heraldic in meaning. In thus enacting chivalric display within an antique setting, elements within the latter, the 'rediscovered' architectural Orders, were introduced as emblems expressing and confirming the former, the established British orders of chivalry. This transfer was paralleled by the art-form of masque itself in its conveyance through Renaissance emblematics of the magical themes of medieval chivalry and of the arts in which these themes had traditionally found expression, such as pageants and heraldry. Further, technical links are suggested between the actual design and composition of the architectural Orders and the design rules of heraldry. Such links might illuminate a neglected native context for Renaissance arts, since rules governing traditional arts of design, such as heraldry and emblems of chivalry, evidently assisted the Stuarts in their comprehension of what are normally seen as unfamiliar and imported Vitruvian concepts of architectural symmetry and decorum. And through the embodiment of these concepts in their architecture, the Crown can be seen to have attempted actually to build the heraldic 'House' of chivalry within their 'Garden of Heroical Devices'.

HENRY WOTTON'S HERALDIC ORDERS OF STUART ARCHITECTURE

The single most public manifestation of Stuart patronage of the Renaissance arts concerned architecture, featuring the antique column—whether Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, or Corinthian.²⁴ Whilst the application of the Orders as isolated surface elements had been relatively common on Elizabethan houses, these were constructed before the Vitruvian concept that a whole building could be generated from the column module had been fully grasped.²⁵ Robert Stickells, working during the Elizabethan period but alive until 1620, displayed a primitive knowledge of Vitruvian theory when commenting on building proportion: 'These thinges consisteth in man hime self, for that man is the proporctinall & Reasonable creatuer'.²⁶ The Orders were first used in a coherent way for the triumphal arches forming James's coronation entry into the City of London in 1604 (see Figure 34) and as such these arches foreshadowed Jones's later more permanent city architecture, commencing in 1620 with his Banqueting House in Whitehall. Indeed, the Stuart Renaissance is characterised by the first use in Britain of the Orders and their module to generate the proportions of entire buildings. Their use in this way, with the column's implicit reference to human proportion and nature itself, as described by Vitruvius, represented at a general level an attempt by the Stuart monarchy to relate the newly established Court to the perceived natural Order, a bond with the Platonic heavens which the stage displays of antique architectural harmony clearly celebrated within masque. The ceremonial display of the revamped orders of chivalry when set against

these 'rediscovered' Orders of architecture became a public sign of this new earthly harmony. Whilst the display of the Orders, like the Court itself, seemed new, their design had in fact emerged from medieval royal iconography, and from the Neoplatonic emblematics of heraldry in particular.

Elizabethan royal emblematics frequently incorporated the column as a heraldic element. The famous engraving by Crispin de Passe Senior of 1596 pictured Elizabeth flanked by two Corinthian columns (Figure 11), following the example of the heraldry of Charles V in which the device of twin columns signified the northern imperial ideal and model of mystic kingship to which Elizabeth aspired. More specifically, the Corinthian columns are designed to carry royal arms, British heraldry and the architectural Order becoming fused in the creation of an imperial image. In the printer's mark of John Daye, reproduced in the 1570 edition of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, the Corinthian Order once again forms flanking columns of imperial symbolism. The whole image is heraldic; replacing Elizabeth are the royal arms, with the columns resting on plinths bearing shields (Figure 12). As a clear aspect of Elizabethan imperial symbolism, this early use of the architectural Orders as heraldry in foreshadowing Jones and Jonson's *Barriers* seems to have gone unnoted by commentators. This device also featured in emblematic poetry, Jones's friend George Chapman having urged Elizabeth to 'Forme then, twixt two superior pillars framed/This tender building, Pax imperii nam'd'.²⁷ In the frontispiece to the *Works* of James I, published in 1616, Corinthian columns once again carry the British royal insignia—Tudor roses, thistles, etc. —much as if the column itself had become the heraldic shield. Here royal arms surmount the entire architectural composition (Figure 13).

The imperial twin-column device signified in particular the legendary Pillars of Hercules, that is the mountains on either side of what are now known as the straits of Gibraltar but which were regarded in antiquity as marking the end of the world; subsequent claims to a revival of imperial glory were naturally symbolised by this ancient boundary. But this heraldry made equal reference to the twin columns which, according to Hermetic legend, served as the very repository of the secrets of nature, since Lamech, the relative of Noah, had erected a brass and marble pillar on which the hieroglyphics of ancient wisdom were carved at the time of the Flood. One pillar would never burn, the other never sink, and thus the arcana vital to the future of humankind were preserved against calamity. Hermes had himself passed on the secret knowledge to man via pillars, John Gordon noting that 'in a Colome or Pillar...was written these words, "*I am Isis, the Queen of Egypt, taught by Mercurius*".'²⁸ These 'arcane' pillars were subsequently identified in Hermetic lore with the twin columns, Jachin and Boaz, which stood outside Solomon's temple (I Kings 7:21), and were celebrated in masonic ritual as the repository of the principles of architecture in particular.²⁹ In the context of these legends the British royal heraldry pictured carved on the twin columns can be seen as a successor to the hieroglyphics carved by



Figure 11 Engraving of Elizabeth I, by Crispin de Passe Senior (1596), presenting a combined image of heraldic and architectural Order. Published by Jan Woudneel in London. (Courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.)

Hermes, and the columns themselves as a further sign of mystic kingship exemplified by the British Mercurian monarch.

The representation of medieval royal heraldry within a framework comprised of Renaissance iconography and architectural Order, evident in such frontispieces, was part of the wider continuity of medieval symbolism in Stuart art. In the stage sets for Jonson's *Oberon, the Fairy Prince* (1611), for example, Jones's architecture blended the antique with native medieval elements;³⁰ throughout these early masques, images drawn from medieval chivalry danced to the tune of Renaissance Neoplatonism, a cosmology which had seemed revolutionary at the time of Bruno's visit to Britain thirty years before. This was foreshadowed in the gardens of Hampton Court, Whitehall, and Nonsuch, since the medieval Court garden represented one of the first realms in which royal heraldry, such as Tudor roses shaping garden rooms or carried by beasts on columns, was replaced or overlaid by Renaissance emblematics.³¹ Tracing the evolution of royal symbolism we witness the absorption of medieval cosmology, and the monarch's place in the cosmos, by the emerging Platonic

conception of the natural order and by the new Renaissance art-forms such as Vitruvian architecture and masque which were designed as its expression.

Both heraldry and the architectural Orders were widely considered, and by Neoplatonists in particular, to possess a joint biblical origin. From Abelard onwards, the idea of Solomon's temple as an image of cosmic harmony and the celestial Jerusalem had been ever present to medieval builders.³² As a reflection of this, in the late sixteenth century Solomon's temple and the tabernacle of Moses which prefigured it were seen by Neoplatonists as the ultimate origins of the Greek and Roman Orders and the prototype of antique harmony in architecture. This was supported in part by the legend of the temple's twin 'arcane' columns enshrining the principles of masonry. Hence through this Solomonic virtue and in common with other aspects of antiquity in the Renaissance, the Orders were attributed a biblical ancestry, and were thus freed of their theoretical dependence on the pagan Roman writer Vitruvius. Vitruvius' treatise was itself presented as recording a Christian Golden Age, written as it was around the time of Christ's nativity during the age of Augustus. This found early expression in Britain through Dee's note that Vitruvius 'did write ten bookes [of



Figure 12 Mark of the printer John Daye from Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, London (1570 edn). (Courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.)

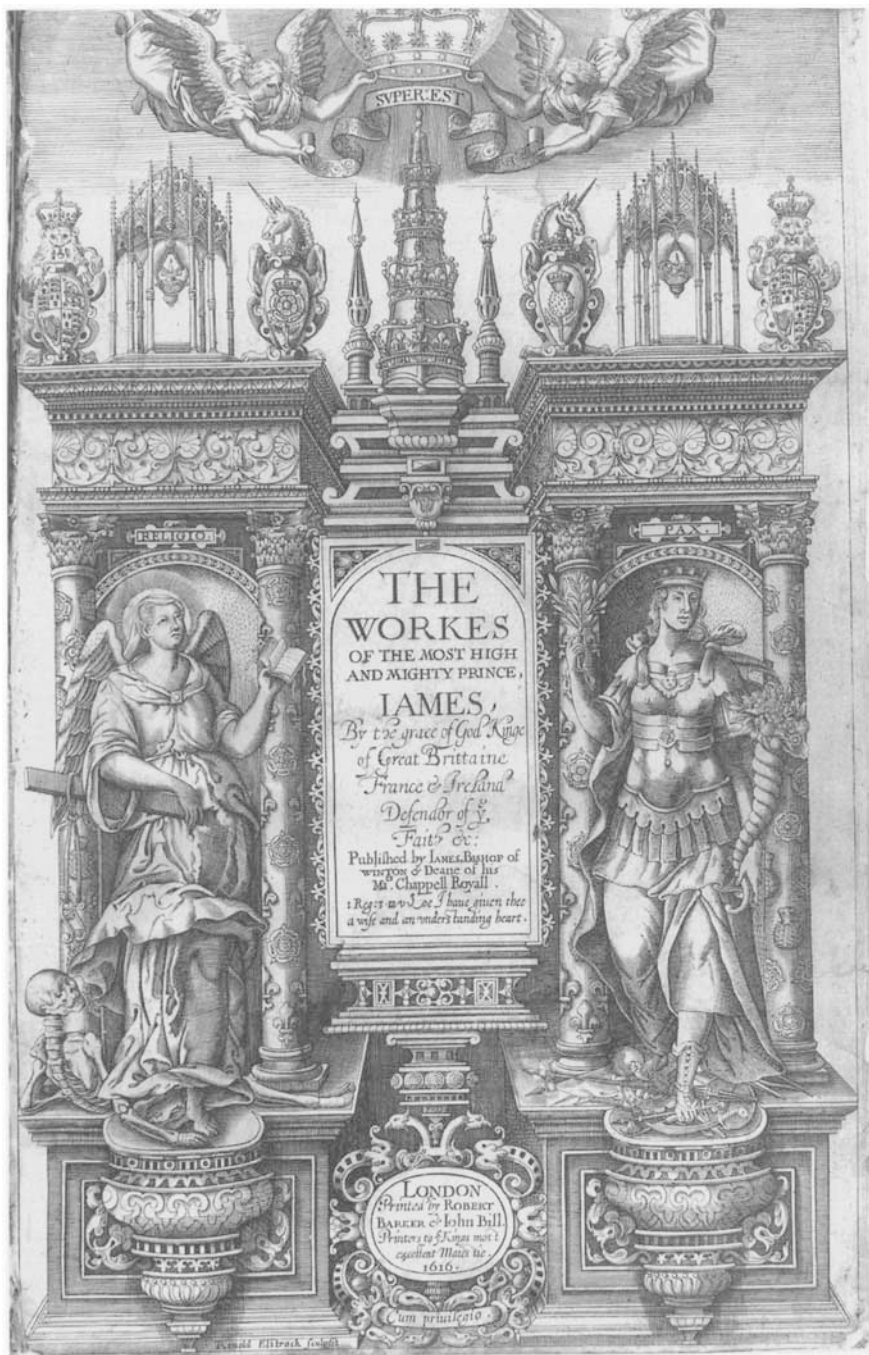


Figure 13 Emblematic frontispiece to James's Works, London (1616). (Courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.)

architecture]...to the Emperour *Augustus* (in whose daies our Heavenly Archemaster, was borne)'.³³ The Vitruvian canon thus acquired not only a Christian but a Hermetic context, for 'Archemasterie' was the supreme mathematico-magical art for Dee. In Spain, the Jesuit Juan Bautista Villalpando provided the earliest literal and pictorial source for an 'Ordered' Solomon's temple in the second volume of his commentary on Ezekiel entitled *In Ezechielem Explanationes et Apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hierosolymitani*, published in 1604.³⁴ John Evelyn's *Parallel... upon the Five Orders* (1664), one of the first treatises on the Orders in Britain, was to note on the Corinthian:

You see what *Vitruvius* reports: But *Villalpandus* who will needs gives this *Capitel* a more Illustrious and antient Original, pretends that the *Corinthians* took it first from the Temple of *Solomon*, of which *God* himself had been the *Architect*...the true Originals of the *Temple* were of Palm-branches bearing Fruit, to which the Leaves of the *Olive* have a near Correspondence. The *Design* which we shall hereafter describe with the whole *Entablature* of the Order, drawn precisely according to the Measures which *Villalpandus* has Collected, and which I expresly followed.

(Evelyn 1664:67)

Villalpando had integrated these entablatures with their triglyphs and metopes by means of Pythagorean musical consonances. This Hermetic influence found further expression through the temple's elevations and astrological plan; here for example Villalpando identified the central four bastions with the four elements.³⁵ Further, in showing the *Idea* of the temple as a reflection of the celestial Jerusalem, Vitruvian canons and the ensigns of the twelve tribes of Israel were pictured by Villalpando jointly ordering the temple plan (Figure 14). In accordance with heraldry's status as a form of hieroglyphics, ensigns were thought to possess a biblical origin in Egyptian antiquity. The standards of the twelve tribes are described in Numbers (2:2) pitched 'about the Tabernacle', and this prompted the Stuart apologist William Dugdale, for example, to note that: 'So that by this you may see ...[heraldry] be no new inventions of men, so they are also things allowable by the word of God.'³⁶ The frontispiece of the English edition of the Geneva Bible as published in 1614 included these heraldic emblems of the twelve tribes. Hence, as the image of the word of God, both tabernacle and temple came in the Renaissance to represent the origin of heraldic and architectural Order, these arts thus assisting the identification of Stuart London with Solomon's Jerusalem.

In line with this common ancestry in Neoplatonic lore, both arts appeared to have the capacity to reflect Platonic *Ideas*. As Bolton put it: 'let an Armes painted on a Surcoat, Tabard, or Shield be blotted out, the privation of the

E O R V N D E M C A S T R O R V M DISPOSITIO. MVNDVM referens, & Templum.

Genes. 48. V. 5. & Cap. 49. V. 4. 7. 9. 13. 14. 17. 19. 21. Dent. 33. V. 26.

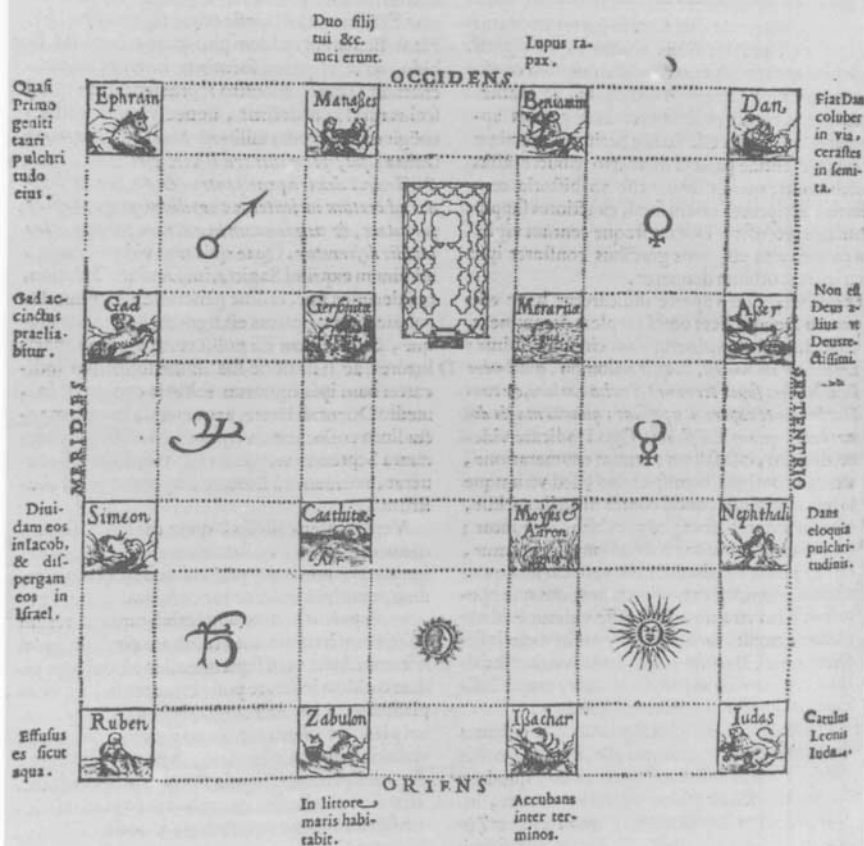


Figure 14 Plan of Solomon's temple from Juan Bautista Villalpando's *In Ezechielem Explanations*, Rome (1596–1604), showing the tribes of Israel, the zodiac and the planets. (Courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.)

Armories, makes no privation of the *Continent*...though so I doe no more take it to bee an actuall Armes, then the dreame, or *Idea* of a building is an house'.³⁷ Indeed through certain compatible qualities reflecting the influence of Platonic theory, joint 'Rules and Axioms', as one Stuart theorist termed heraldic composition,³⁸ can be seen to have governed the design of heraldry and the architectural Orders in the early Stuart Court.

The design of both heraldry and the Orders in the Renaissance became particularly dependent on geometry. Bolton echoed Dee when he claimed that in heraldry: 'All Arts conjoin'd in this do appeare/By structure of a choyce Philosophie/GEOMETRIE gives lines in ordred place, Numbers ARTHMETICK'.³⁹ Not only were heraldic characters arranged geometrically, but geometric figures themselves became heraldic charges. In the case of the masons' company ensign, a shield or Star of David was formed by interlocking compasses and set square. The principles of geometry represented a primary component of the supposed Egyptian mysteries, and with Moses initiated in this Egyptian wisdom, Euclidean geometry became a cornerstone of the concept of an 'Ordered' tabernacle and temple. Euclid was himself celebrated as one of the founders of stonemasonry in medieval masonic lore. Subsequently, it became a commonplace of Renaissance architectural theorists, and of the 'Vitruvian Neoplatonist' in particular, to regard the composition of the Orders as a geometric art. With the intention of outlining the principles of Vitruvian architecture, Serlio opened the first book of his treatise with the Euclidean definitions—the point, line, plane, and solid. Dee's 'Preface' to *EUCLID*, in defining Vitruvian architecture as an 'art mathematical', proclaimed this dependence on geometry implicit in the masons' instruments: 'Geometrie, giueth to Architecture many helpes: and first teacheth the Use of the Rule, and the Compasse: wherby (chieflye and easilie) the descriptions of Buildinges, are despatched in Groundplats: and the directions of Squires, Levells, and Lines'.⁴⁰ Indeed one of the most explicit parallels between Renaissance heraldic and Vitruvian design principles was contained in the opening remarks to John Guillim's *A Display of Heraldrie* (1632 edition), endeavouring as they do 'to give unto this *erst unshapely and disproportionable profession* of Heraldry, *a true Symmetria and proportionable correspondence of each part to other*'.⁴¹ This joint dependence on geometry might be seen as a further means by which the Vitruvian Orders and heraldry were seen to harmonise with nature, in the spirit of the Egyptian-Solomonic arts of Hermetic lore.

With heraldic composition having become a branch of Neoplatonic emblematics in the Renaissance, the Orders were themselves equally conceived by the early Stuarts as akin to the emblematics or hieroglyphics of arcane wisdom. In Guillim's discussion of architectural heraldry, for example, columns were termed 'the *Hieroglyphicks of fortitude*'.⁴² Indeed a precedent for an emblematic conception of the Orders was provided by Vitruvius' theory of decorum, since it stipulated that buildings, and temples in particular, should be designed with ornaments which were expressive of

their function. Serlio quoted this concept at the outset of Book IV, advising that the Tuscan be used for such as prisons whilst the Corinthian best suited palaces. He noted that 'The ancients dedicated buildings to the Gods, matching them to their natures, robust or delicate, accordingly' (fol.126r).⁴³ The Orders and indeed heraldry itself were required by Serlio to reflect honestly both natural principles and the character of the patron, whilst only people of a certain rank had the right to use these joint signs of status. Inigo Jones's *STONE-HENG Restored* provides clear evidence of his understanding of the interrelationship between the architectural Orders and hieroglyphs or emblems, with the Tuscan temple geometrically composed and represented with reference to Neoplatonic emblem books including Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*.⁴⁴ Indeed, according to Jonson, Jones's masque designs became mere 'Court hieroglyphics' through their over-reliance on emblematic spectacle, and there can be no more dramatic demonstration of the comparability of these emblematic backdrops and actual architecture than the fact that notable examples of the latter were used by Jones in the former. If the Tuscan at Stonehenge was emblematic of British rustic simplicity, then the Corinthian at St Paul's Cathedral was emblematic of royalty, and in this conceit the Orders were again compatible with heraldic design.

In the first coherent public display of the Orders in London, the arches marking James's entry into the City of London in 1604 fused heraldry and the Orders in succession to Elizabethan royal iconography (Figure 34). Jonson wrote the speeches delivered at various points on the route; presenting the arches as 'devices' in one of these speeches, Jonson echoed the connection in Neoplatonic philosophy between hieroglyphics, emblems, and *imprese*. But of more significance, all would seem composed in a manner which clearly reflected Alberti's definition of 'beauty' in *De re aedificatoria* ('that reasoned harmony of all the parts within a body, so that nothing may be added, taken away, or altered, but for the worse' (Book VI, Chapter 2)), since as Jonson's text explained:⁴⁵

The nature and propertie of these Devices being, to present alwaies some one entire bodie, or figure, consisting of distinct members, and each of those expressing it selfe, in the owne active spheare, yet all, with that generall harmonie so connexed, and disposed, as no one little part can be missing to the illustration of the whole: where also is to be noted, that the *Symboles* used, are not, neither ought to be, simply *Hieroglyphickes*, *Emblemes*, or *Impreses*, but a mixed character, partaking somewhat of all, and peculiarly adalpted to these more magnificent Inventions.

(Jonson 1925–52: VII, 90–1)

Here Jonson seems to confirm that the architectural Orders, which in the composition of 'these Devices' lay behind this statement, were akin to the design of emblems and *imprese*, with the Orders 'partaking somewhat of all'.

Finally, however, this compatibility between the design of the Orders and heraldry in their reflection of Platonic theory provides both a background to and an explanation of a statement in the only English treatise on the Orders published during the lifetime of Inigo Jones, Henry Wotton's *Elements of Architecture* (1624). Following Dee's citation of Vitruvius in his 'Preface', aspects of 'Vitruvian Neoplatonism' can be easily traced in Wotton's *Elements*. Here, for example, Wotton acknowledges the very origin of the Hermetic arts as 'the auncient *Hebrewes* and *Phenicians* (whence all knowledge did flow)'.⁴⁶ Drawing on the perfect numerical proportions of the human body implicit in Vitruvian-Pythagorean mysticism, Wotton stipulates the height of all the columns as multiples of the column diameter.⁴⁷ The Doric column is specified as seven diameters, following which the 'masculine Aspect' of this Order is outlined:

His ranke or degree, is the lowest by all *Congruity*, as being more massie then the other three, and consequently abler to support.... To descerne him, will bee a peece rather of good *Heraldry*, than of *Architecture*: For he is best knowne by his place, when he is in company, and by the peculiar ornament of his *Frize*...when he is alone.

(Wotton 1624:35–6)

Here this unique Stuart treatise explicitly links heraldic and architectural Order. Further, Wotton's key phrase 'rather of good *Heraldry*, than of *Architecture*' would seem to suggest a greater familiarity with the rules of the former, and indicate dominance over or absorption of the similar, but newly perceived, rules defining the latter. In other words, Wotton introduces the column as part of the established design art of heraldry, the ensign certainly 'best knowne by his place, when he is in company'. With the Orders having composed the Platonic 'House' of British chivalry in the *Barriers*, such a direct link with heraldry might have seemed natural to Wotton's contemporary Court reader. The elements of Wotton's *Architecture* of 1624 here echo those of Bolton's *Armories* of 1610.

Wotton presents all the Orders as masculine, despite the Vitruvian precedent specifying female proportions for the Ionic and Corinthian. He follows Vitruvius only when introducing the Ionic as having 'much of the *Matrone*'⁴⁸ about it, but proceeds to slip into the male gender with remarks like 'Best knowne by his trimmings' and 'These are his best *Characters*'.⁴⁹ Wotton's uniqueness lies in this description of all the Orders as essentially male, and linked to knighthood through their similarity with heraldry. Following the Vitruvian pattern, Wotton's columns are arranged, or as he puts it 'marshalled',⁵⁰ in order of rank, with the Corinthian, 'His degree, one Stage above the *Ionique*, and alwaies the highest of the simple *Orders*'.⁵¹ As a heraldic term, 'marshalling' represents the arrangement in proper order of two or more coats of arms upon a shield. With Wotton's Orders forming a nobility, it follows that the 'rurall...sturdy well-limmed Labourer' Tuscan is excluded, for here Wotton 'need not consider his

rank among the rest'.⁵² Hence only four main Orders are ranked, the Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and what is termed the Compounded Order. In common with heraldic conventions, this hierarchy finds expression in the physical size, relative position, geometric relationship or 'measure', and a variety of decoration which makes explicit the various characters of the Orders.

The frieze, with its triglyphs and metopes, clearly aids Wotton's identification of the Doric Order with the art of heraldry, but in general all surface characteristics represent elements of the columns' essentially heraldic 'Characters'. After describing the 'trimings' of Ionic and despite the male tag, the Corinthian becomes 'a *Columne*, laciviously decked like a *Curtezane*'.⁵³ On his Compounded Order Wotton observes that 'To Know him will be easie by the verie mixture of his *Ornaments*, and *Clothing*'.⁵⁴ In contrast, Wotton's Tuscan 'labourer' had been 'homely clad'. This emphasis on costume again reflects Court order, or knighthood. It follows that when stripped of their clothing (or heraldic charge) Wotton's columns stand as '*Shafts* or *Bodies*'.⁵⁵ This basic element is like a blank shield (or heraldic field), akin to the body of the knight awaiting his coat of arms. The seventh rule of Guillim's *Display of Heraldrie* dictates, 'In the *Blazoning* of any Coate, you must evermore observe this speciall rule. First, to beginne with the Field, and then proceed to the blazon of the Charge, if any be.'⁵⁶ In a similar way, the emblematic costume for a masque was added to the body of an actor to display his character. With their explicit reference to heraldry, Wotton's Orders here again become compatible with the design of Neoplatonic emblematics through a process in which the body is built up with elements signifying character.

With his architectural Orders thus collectively displaying a Court hierarchy, Wotton reflected the fallen 'House' in the *Barriers* in building a form of invisible 'House of Chivalry', with one architectural Order (or charge) surmounting the other, marshalled on the façade (or shield) according to rank; indeed on the Ionic he states, 'In degree as in substantialnesse, next above the *Dorique*, sustayning the third, and adorning the second Storey'. Perhaps the Tuscan might be included in this structure as a kind of rusticated basement, beneath the other more noble Orders which he labours to support. Hence in specifying the Orders as a form of heraldry, Wotton perceived both as designed to express, or as emblems for, an essentially masculine Court 'rank'. This is of particular significance since the publication of Wotton's *Elements* coincided with the commencement of Court building work by Inigo Jones. The first copy of the *Elements* was presented to the king and the second to Prince Charles; the minor Courtier John Chamberlain reported the work 'reasonably commended'.⁵⁷ Jones must have read it, since his copy of Palladio records his familiarity with Wotton's views on the Orders.⁵⁸ For any contemporary, Jones's work would have provided the only coherent native example of the unfamiliar architecture described.

Perhaps more significantly, apart from Jonson's *Barriers*, which was limited to a Court audience, Wotton's *Elements* advanced the only English explanation for Jones's buildings and the Orders of which they were composed.

In summary, as an aspect of the emergence of Renaissance learning, the relatively unfamiliar Vitruvian rules governing the design of the Orders were described in early seventeenth-century Britain within the context of the established medieval art of heraldic design, an art which was itself thought to have survived from antiquity.⁵⁹ This was made possible through three main theoretical similarities which were considered in the spirit of arcane traditions. Firstly, the Orders and heraldry were both geometric compositions, governed by the same rules of symmetry and balance in reflecting natural harmony. Secondly, both were consciously thought of as emblems, in the tradition of the Neoplatonic emblem books from which composite characters could be built up as if dressing human or pictorial bodies. Thirdly, as emblems both expressed the same notion, a magical British 'House' of chivalry itself structured by rank. To these interconnections should be added a common Solomonic-Arthurian origin drawn from Hermetic mythology, reflected in the fact that both heraldry and the Orders were used by the Stuart kings to display their own claims to this very ancestry. The ensign thus graphically presented the meaning of the Orders, much as the two had been fused in imperial iconography. This view is confirmed by the two major works on the Orders produced during the Stuart era, written by the Courtiers Wotton and Jonson. Indeed following his description in the *Barriers* of rusty shields, Jonson's line 'More truth of architecture there was blazed' (line 52) certainly has a specifically heraldic ring to it. A 'blazon' was a coat of arms, as Guillim's seventh rule indicated, and 'blazonry' the art of decoration within heraldry.⁶⁰ In this way 'true' British architecture, not buildings of the 'ignorant Goths' as Jonson's next line explains but Stuart architecture composed by the Orders, is once again introduced by heraldic terminology.

Solomon was especially associated with the twisted vine column, since one of these in St Peter's in Rome was held to have come from Solomon's temple. These Solomonic columns form one of the heroic settings for the apotheosis of James I painted by Rubens on the Banqueting House ceiling (see Figure 1), whilst the simple Tuscan Order encircles the most literal presentation of James as Solomon in this series. Here the Orders are presented by Rubens as vital symbols confirming Stuart rule. Like heraldry, they served to remind the Court of its chivalrous duty to protect the Arthurian monarch in his role as the rightful heir to the guardianship of the celestial Jerusalem. Following Van Dyck's representation of the Orders as a backdrop to the Garter procession (see Figure 8), it is reasonable to suppose that Wotton's view of the heraldic Orders would have found sympathy with the Garter Knights given their knowledge of, and traditional

responsibility for supervising, the rules of heraldic design.⁶¹ Indeed, the group of seven knights on the 1620 committee advising on the 'restoration' of St Paul's⁶² may well have understood Jones's proposed surface as akin to heraldry in expressing their own chivalrous traditions. The task of restoring St Paul's as a successor to Solomon's temple,⁶³ implicit in the concept of Stuart London as the New Jerusalem, could easily have been identified by the Garter Knights with the mythic quest of their crusading ancestors, the restoration of Jerusalem to the Christian faith as cultivated by medieval orders of knighthood such as the 'Templars' or the 'Brethren of the Chivalry of the Temple of Solomon'.⁶⁴ An association between the visual display of Court hierarchy through such groups as the Garter Knights and the content of the architectural backdrop would perfectly reflect the unity of masque.⁶⁵

Further, institutions of chivalry were naturally linked to those of the crafts in medieval city life. During the seventeenth century both were still understood as secret societies, with the lore of each laying claim to having either spiritually or physically built the temple in Jerusalem.⁶⁶ The building companies, and the masons in particular, must surely have seen the carving of the Orders as a triumph of their own particular skill, emblematic of the Solomonic nobility of their craft and, as such, the architectural equivalent of their heraldic device. Hence when refaced in Jones's architectural Orders St Paul's might have been viewed by the masons as dressed in their own heraldry, much as it had been temporarily decorated with royal heraldry during processions. This echoed the traditional evolution of craftwork from temporary decorations to more permanent representations, in this case from medieval ensign to Renaissance architectural Order.

In this way all the theoretical citations of Vitruvian canons in the early English Renaissance reflected Neoplatonic influences, encompassing works by Dee, Jonson, Wotton, and Jones, and imported work such as that by Villalpando. As we shall see, both James and Charles were evidently aware of Villalpando's temple drawings. Indeed Villalpando's Orders pictured forming Solomon's temple projected the very model of mystic kingship to which James aspired. The first coherent use of the Orders within the British Court was in the composition of the emblematic backdrops to the Neoplatonic poetics of masque. Their first public use in this way was on the temporary arches of James's coronation entry, described by Jonson as a form of hieroglyphics. Later, in the first Stuart treatise on Vitruvian architecture Wotton compared the Orders to heraldry. This explains the ease with which representations of actual façades could be used by Jones as emblematic backdrops in masques. And through the use of the Orders as heraldry throughout the city, the Court signalled the spiritual and physical renaissance of their ancestral 'House' of British chivalry.

EMBLEMS, ARCHITECTURE AND THE COLUMN IN THE OCCULT ART OF MEMORY

Vitruvian architecture was further related to emblematics by Renaissance Neoplatonists through its role in the workings of the art of artificial memory. In what became an occult art, Renaissance artificial memory systems employed emblems to characterise particular points to be recalled during orations or sermons: in this way a sword might represent a murderer, for example, whilst a veil could represent a bride. Such emblems were here imagined against specific architectural mnemonic settings—within the Vitruvian theatre in particular—as an aspect of the complex art of rhetoric.⁶⁷ Artificial memory, as an aid to oratory, was traditionally practised in theatres and cathedrals and there is evidence of this memory tradition at old St Paul's for example.⁶⁸ Indeed both also served as memory buildings themselves; medieval cathedrals, crowded with images, for Frances Yates become like 'invisible cathedrals of memory'.⁶⁹ In England the workings of this art were outlined in Stephen Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure* (1509), the 1527 edition of William Caxton's *Mirroure of the World*, the 1548 translations of the *Phoenix* of Peter of Ravenna, and in William Fulwood's *The Castel of Memorie*, published in 1562, a translation of a treatise by Guglielmo Gratarolo. Whilst king of Scotland, James had himself been taught the art of memory and it is quite possible that this was an occult version, given the general interest in his Scottish Court in this art linked, in particular, to that devised by Giordano Bruno.⁷⁰

Probably the greatest Renaissance formulations of the occult art of memory were those by Bruno, who soon after his arrival in England in 1583 republished a work on mnemonics which had first appeared in Paris the previous year.⁷¹ Here architecture, in the form of houses in cities, provided the memory locations for the placement of emblems or seals. By mirroring the permutations and combinations of the changing occult relationship between the planets and the zodiac through the placement of his seals, Bruno believed the mechanisms of nature itself would be tapped to organise the psyche. This involved what might be termed an artistic magic, images becoming endowed with talismanic power through their perfect proportions which in turn reflected the mathematical relationships of the cosmos. Indeed, following the general influence of artificial memory on Renaissance culture, such geometric mnemonic seals may, through their proportions, have represented an invisible framework informing Renaissance architectural theory in particular, in its basis in harmonic proportions.⁷² The process of transcendence through artistic beauty was emphasised by Bruno's seals bearing the titles 'Zeuxis the Painter' and 'Phidias the Sculptor', which reflected his conception of the Renaissance painter, sculptor, poet, and philosopher as fundamentally involved in a process of creating images in the mind's eye through paint, word, or stone.⁷³

Solomon's 'House of Wisdom' with its seven pillars (Proverbs 9:1) in combination with the Vitruvian theatre had formed the paradigm for Giulio

Camillo's Renaissance memory theatre,⁷⁴ and in echoing this the English Paracelsian doctor, Robert Fludd,⁷⁵ organised his memory system around the houses of the zodiac reflected in the Vitruvian theatre plan.⁷⁶ In following aspects of Dee's work, Fludd became the first Englishman to publish a full treatise on Hermetic philosophy, the *Utriusque Cosmi...Historia* of 1617. The second volume of this, published in 1619, contained the occult system of artificial memory, in which Fludd advised the use of real places in actual buildings for the placement and memorising of images. From this Yates argues that Fludd recorded a view of the stage of the Globe Theatre, albeit varied to accommodate five columns of memory, distinguished by shape and colour and five stage doorways arranged in the Vitruvian manner.⁷⁷ Against these the adept was to place talismanic images to signify words and objects.

Whilst there is no evidence that Jones ever met Bruno, he certainly met Fludd, who was the architect's junior by only a year. In the terminal flyleaves of Jones's Palladio, amongst a series of medical notes, the Paracelsian is cited twice under the date 1636: 'Doc Flud discommendes glisters for weakning the guttes' and 'Docc Flud tould mee at Arr. House, that glister beeing often taken doe weaken the guttes.' Incidentally, these notes record that Jones also consulted William Harvey;⁷⁸ Fludd and Harvey were the most distinguished Paracelsians in Britain.⁷⁹ Jones may well have also talked with Fludd on matters connected with the macrocosm, including perhaps the role of architecture in artificial memory. Jones's meeting with Fludd evidently took place at Arundel House, indicating that Lord Arundel also had an interest in the Paracelsian; Fludd had been at St John's College, Oxford, at the same time as Laud and, as Chapter 1 noted, he dedicated the first volume of *Utriusque Cosmi...Historia* to James I, who questioned Fludd and endorsed this work; hence Fludd's work may well have exerted more influence in Court circles than has so far been recognised.⁸⁰ Following the king's example, leading Stuarts in Jones's circle also practised the art of memory. Whilst discussing heraldry, Jones's friend Edmund Bolton referred to the forming of places in an artificial memory system:

I will once more view the *Slate*, where-upon you have cyphered your remembred parts of the lecture, and therein supply what is wanting, that you may have all the passed examples together, and in sight at once upon one Plane, and by them (as by so many places of artificall memory) both call them to your minde the better, and hold the depending doctrines the surer.

(Bolton 1610:121)

Francis Bacon discusses the use of architecture in the art of memory in the *Novum Organum*, in which he notes the

order or distribution of Common Places in the artificial memory, which may be either Places in the proper sense of the word, as a door, a

corner, a window, and the like; or familiar and well known persons; or anything we choose (provided they are arranged in a certain order), as animals, herbs.

(Bacon 1857–74: I, 275)

Indeed John Aubrey, in his life of Bacon, hints at an actual building designed for use in artificial memory when noting that in Bacon's house, Gorhambury, there were windows 'with severall figures of beast, bird and flower: perhaps his Lordship might use them as Topiques for Locall memorie'.⁸¹ Bacon's art of memory is advocated as a practical tool, shorn of most, if not all, of its magical content.⁸² This may, however, have some importance when considering Bacon's influence as a member of the 1620 commission advising Jones on the refacing of St Paul's, for example, revealing as it does how Bacon saw one of the uses of architecture, within the context of what was frequently considered an occult art.⁸³

William Schaw, Scottish Master of Works and general warden of the Scottish masons, in attempting to organise the craft through his Second Statutes of 1599, cited the art of memory as one of the tests for a mason.⁸⁴ David Stevenson has pointed out that since it used an architectural framework the art would have been particularly attractive to masons as a way of memorising their craft secrets and acquiring secret wisdom.⁸⁵ Further, the seventeenth-century Scottish Masonic Lodge may have been in one sense a memory temple, an imaginary Solomon's temple in which places and images were fixed as aids to memorising the masons' secrets and the rituals of initiation.⁸⁶ These rituals involved the creation of a symbolic building, an ideal lodge which could have operated as a memory temple; the masons' chant contains the lines:

- Q. Are there any lights in your lodge?
- A. Yes, three. The north-east, south-west, and eastern passage. The one denotes the master mason, the other the warden, the third the setter craft.
- Q. Are there any jewels in your lodge?
- A. Yes, three, perpend esler, a square pavement, and a broad oval.⁸⁷

Here images, windows, and stone blocks feature in defined places within the framework of a building much as in the art of memory. Some of these features may even have been chalked out on the floor of the meeting room itself, whilst it was possibly thought that the use of such a mnemonic technique, with its occult powers, attracted favourable influences to the proceedings and blessed the initiates. With later references in the chant to Solomon's twin columns, this imaginary masons' temple also symbolised the mausoleum of their patron, Hiram, legendary architect of Solomon's temple and guardian of the masons' craft secrets or 'Word'. Such beliefs thus fell in

line with the general Renaissance Hermetic quest by secret organisations, most significantly the orders of chivalry and the more elusive Rosicrucians, for lost knowledge—whether symbolised by the Grail or the tomb of Christian Rosencrantz. Perhaps when James came south in 1603 the use of architecture in the art of memory was discussed with his new ‘Master of Works’ and therefore of masons, Inigo Jones.

There is a notable example of the use of the antique column to order a mnemonic building contemporary with Fludd’s theatre and Jones’s construction of the Banqueting House. John Willis’s *Mnemonica; sive Ars Reminiscendi: e puris artis naturaeque fontibus hausta* was published in London in 1618 whilst his English translation of the third book (which deals with artificial memory) appeared in 1621 as *The Art of Memory*. Although Willis does not explicitly describe an occult mnemonic system like Fludd’s,⁸⁸ influences on Fludd have, nevertheless, been suggested through the similarity of sets of ‘theatres’ ordered by variously coloured columns.⁸⁹ For in Willis’s first edition a single ‘column’, and in the subsequent edition two Corinthian ‘pillars’, are used not to provide support but purely to order rooms on a stage of a memory theatre, or ‘Repositorie’:

A Repositorie is an imaginary house or building, the forme and fashion whereof is as followeth. Let there be supposed a building of the best Cane stone to stand before us...having no wall at all upon the hither side which is towards us, but the whole house lying wide open to our view. Let there be also supposed within the sayd building, a marble stage smoothe and even, one yard high above the levell of the ground, whereon we stand.... Furthermore, let there be imagined a groove or gutter to be cut in the just middle of the marble stage.... And that upon the further end of the said gutter, there is erected a *Corinthian* or round pillar, one foote and an halfe thicke, arising up to the rooffe of the building, which almost toucheth the opposite wall.... So that by the groove & the pillar the whole *Repositorie* is parted in twaine, and consisteth of two roomes siding each other, and being each of them six yards long, and six yards broad, and six yards high.

(Willis 1621:2–5, 9–10)

There are eighteen such ‘repositories’, distinguished by the various colours of their pillars, whether single or in pairs. Following the standard workings of this art, Willis describes images with reference to Renaissance emblematics, citing the ‘innumerable examples in Emblemes, written by *Beza*, *Alciat*, *Peacham*, and others’.⁹⁰ In this theatre we thus glimpse an imaginary realm for the visualisation of Peacham’s British emblematics. In the 1618 edition of the *Mnemonica*, emblems and ‘hieroglyphical sentences’ were placed in the ‘repository’ composing the *Idea* or true nature of the concept to be remembered, Willis noting in conclusion that ‘every *Idea* must have such

illustration as may render it most notable and conspicuous, and seem principally coherent to its nature'.⁹¹ Willis makes clear that the art of memory was not static but active, the means by which to visualise through emblematics all 'Histories, Actions, Fables' and 'Morals described in Verse'.⁹²

Willis's preface in the simpler translated edition of 1621 expresses his intention to make the mnemonic art 'the more easie for the understanding of the common sort', and his examples indicate that his art was aimed at the merchant and artificer, progressing to the moraliser and the memoriser of ritual. Indeed the simple architecture of the imaginary room 'built of hewn stone', golden Corinthian columns and marble floor is reminiscent of the masons' memory room, with its imaginary jewels, stone columns and pavement. Further, as the 'repository' for the emblematics of moral mysteries, Willis's mnemonic double cube theatre ordered with Corinthian columns enclosed an *Idea* stage much like Jones's contemporary masquing theatre. For the Banqueting House was itself a simple double cube ordered by Corinthian columns. Indeed, in ordering the mind using columns positioned within the Vitruvian theatre, the occult memory theatres of the Fludd type foreshadowed Jones's actual architecture in their coherent Vitruvianism. Through their workings occult mnemonic stages were akin to the contemporary masques themselves, since both relied on emblems as signifiers of ideas and concepts and both linked these in a sequential manner to visualise narrative. As compatible Renaissance arts, in masques and mnemonics emblems were located within particular Vitruvian settings in order to increase the power of the mind in its comprehension of and affinity with the macrocosm.

IV

*'A piece not of Nature,
but of Arte'*

GARDENS AND THE ILLUSION OF NATURAL MAGIC

JOHN DEE AND THE STUART APPLICATIONS OF OPTICAL AND MECHANICAL MAGIC

Inigo Jones's emblematic masque stage relied in particular on a practical artistry comprising backstage mechanics which operated set designs arranged using the rules of linear perspective. These interrelated mathematical arts, as Dee had termed them, were not merely the workings behind the presentation of Platonic themes, but were themselves considered a form of magic in their reflection of the mechanical and geometrical structure of the macrocosm. The rules of perspective and mechanics were seen as practical fruits of the Hermetic quest for the lost secrets of nature, and as forms of so-called artificial magic¹ both could produce startling man-made effects, thereby seeming not merely to replicate or rival but actively to control nature itself. Hence according to Agrippa it was specifically through an understanding of mathematics and mechanics that a magician could perform wonderful things.² Even the dance and poetry of the masques, as Jonson would later complain, became subservient to optical and mechanical requirements.³

Through the rules of linear perspective as developed by Brunelleschi and Alberti (and attributed by some theorists, including Serlio, to the Romans, following allusions to it by Vitruvius (I.ii.2)), in the Renaissance the concept of space became related to the centric ray and picture plane, both determined with reference to an intersection with the visual pyramid.⁴ In applying in their work the laws of mathematics and geometry as operative in the science of perspective, artists and architects thus cast Renaissance man at the centre of a unified, harmonic cosmos. From its use in the Medici Court onwards, however, perspective was increasingly employed to focus on and emphasise the figure of one man in particular, that of the prince. Perspective thus became key to the artist's projection of the prince at the centre of the macrocosm in every enactment of Court ritual and theatre. In the later Stuart masques, for example, Jones's perspective settings drew the spectator's eye

towards the monarch as the central figure, expressing Charles's policy of absolutism. As these backdrops demonstrate, perspective theory was well understood in Stuart England.⁵ One of Wotton's elements of architecture, sculpture, was to be positioned using the rules of perspective with reference to Vitruvius and the optical theories of Albrecht Dürer:⁶

That in the placing of standing *Figures* aloft, wee must set them in a *Posture* somewhat bowing forward; because (saith our Master, *lib.3. cap.3.* out of a better *Art* then his owne) the *visuall beame* of our eye, extended to the *Head* of the said *Figures*, being longer then to the *Foot*, must necessarily make that *part* appeare *farther*; so as to reduce it to an erect or upright *position*, there must be allowed a due advantage of *stooping* towards us; which *Albert Durer* hath exactly taught, in his fore mentioned *Geometry*.

(Wotton 1624:104–5)

In one of the first English explanations of perspective, John Dee's 'Preface' defined this art as a branch of geometry and equally relied on Dürer⁷ when noting:

Perspective, is an Art Mathematicall, which demonstrateth the maner, and properties, of all Radiations Direct, Broken, and Reflected.... It concerneth all Creatures, all Actions, and passions, by Emanations of beames perfourmed. Beames, or naturall lines, (here) I meane, not of light onely, or of colour (though they, to eye, give shew, witnes, and prose, wherby to ground the Arte upon) but also of other *Formes*, both *Substantiall*, and *Accidental*, the certaine and determined active Radiall emanations.

(Dee 1570: bj)

Here perspective lines were seen to make visible the hidden order of nature, and as such perspective was related by Dee to the mathematical arts of natural philosophy, astronomy, and astrology. This echoed Serlio who had termed the lines which formed the guide for the construction of a perspective view 'linee occulte' (Books I fol.5v, II fol.25r). As lines which were eventually to be removed in a finished drawing, 'linee occulte' were secret connections which, when perceived, revealed the hidden relationships between elements; in 'explaining' such hidden correspondences, they served to link the different Hermetic worlds with lines of influence.⁸ Jones would have seen a discussion of these ideas in his edition of Lomazzo's *Trattato*, whilst his annotations to his 1601 edition of Serlio show his own constructions using 'linee occulte'.⁹ In Book II Serlio describes various stage illusions when discussing his perspective emblems of the Comic, Tragic, and Satiric antique scenes (as cited by Vitruvius, V.vi.9). Despite the normality of their subject matter, the

novelty of Jones's Serlian perspective masque sets, such as the 'street in perspective of fair building' (line 1) in Jonson's *The Vision of Delight* (1617),¹⁰ were evidently seen by the Court audience as no less spectacular than were the sea monsters in his *Blackness* (1605), which were also 'drawn, by the lines of perspective...and caught the eye afar off with a wandering beauty' (lines 74–6). This illusory power had been pointed out by Dee, for perspective made 'Thynges, farre of, to seeme nere: and nere, to seme farre of. Small thinges, to seme great: and great, to seme small.'¹¹ As a further aspect of the practical construction of these settings, Jones used a grid on design drawings to aid transfer to the larger scale, as the stage drawing of the Banqueting House clearly shows (Figure 15); the various applications of grids for drawing were illustrated by Dürer and Fludd. Thus through their masques, the Stuart monarchy patronised the development of optical arts which by tradition formed part of the study of natural magic, and the properties of which had first been outlined in Britain by Dee.¹²

Through its reliance on mathematics, the art of mechanics was, like perspective, seen to demonstrate natural laws. Ficino in particular had been fascinated by the possibility of constructing a mechanical 'figure of the world', a model which would imitate the order and harmonic motion of the cosmos. Such an artistic microcosm would serve as a talisman, drawing down the celestial influences when making visible the hidden, occult relationships of

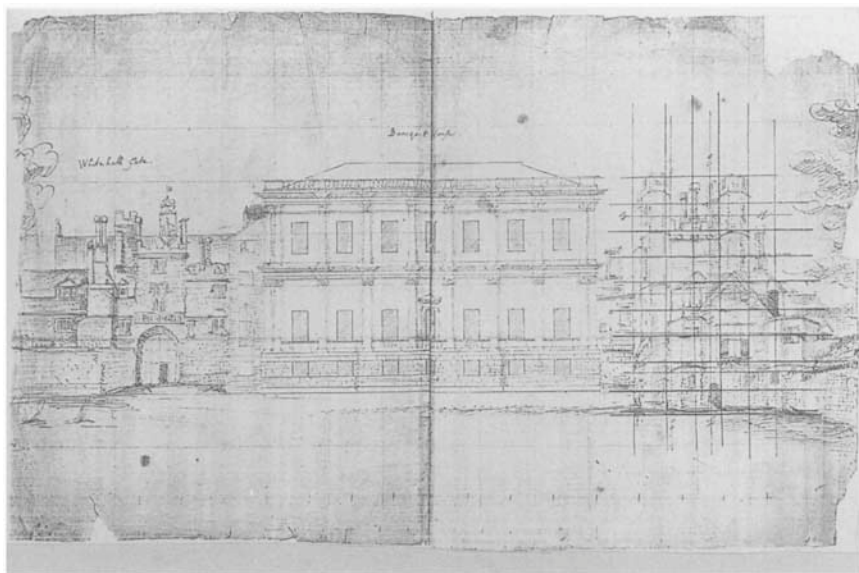


Figure 15 Jones's Banqueting House scene for Jonson's masque *Time Vindicated to Himself and to His Honours* (1623) (Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth). (Reproduced by permission of the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.)

nature.¹³ The mechanical marvels described in the ancient texts comprising the *Pneumatics* of Hero of Alexandria and in the tenth book of Vitruvius provided evidence that the ancients had themselves been in possession of such mechanical magic, illustrated by the legendary examples: a wooden bird made by Architas which could fly, a bronze bull made by Philaris which could roar, a moving statue made by Daedalus, the speaking statue of Mercurius and the like described in the ancient Hermetic text known as the *Asclepius*. Agrippa proclaimed the inseparability of mathematics, motion and magic thus:

The Doctrines of Mathematicks are so necessary to, and have such an affinity with Magick, that they that do profess it without them, are quite out of the way, and labour in vain, and shall in no wise obtain their desired effect. For whatsoever things are, are done in these inferior naturall vertues, are all done, and governed by number, weight, measure, harmony, motion, and light.

(Agrippa 1992: Ili.249)

The practical application in Britain of such mathematical magic in the form of mechanics was particularly encouraged once again through the influence of Dee's 'Preface'. In justifying mechanics with reference to the legends of magico-mechanical simulations of nature (citing Architas' 'dove of wood' and Daedalus' 'strange images'), Dee defines his art of 'Thaumaturgicke' as:

that Art Mathematicall, which giveth certaine order to make straunge workes, of the sense to be perceived, and of men greatly to be wondred at. By sundry meanes, this *Wonder-workes* is wrought. Some, by *Pneumatitbmie*. As the workes of *Ctesibtus* and *Hero*, Some by waight whereof *Timaus* speaketh. Some, by stringes Strayned, or Springs, therwith Imitating lively Motions.

(Dee 1570: Aj)

Dee himself experimented with this art. However, in the popular mind mechanical spectacles looked so much like supernatural forces that they had helped to earn Dee the dire title 'conjurer', when a machine which he made for a performance of a comedy by Aristophanes flew to the roof of the hall of Trinity College, Cambridge, carrying a man with a basket of victuals. Hence, all too aware of the association of such mechanical arts with black magic, Dee emphasised the purity of mechanics in his 'Preface', noting in an allusion to his own troubles: And for these, and such like marveilous Actes and Feates, naturally, Mathematically, and Mechanically, wrought and contrived: ought any honest student, and Modest Christian Philosopher, be counted, & called a Conjurer?¹⁴ Dee professed his purpose was to be the seeker 'onely, of God, the therafor of heavenly wisdom, & knowledge of pure veritie'; hence in reference to mechanical works he asks: 'Shall that

man, be (in hugger mugger) condemned, as a Companion of the Helhounds, and a Caller, and Conjuror of wicked and damned Spirites?¹⁵ In his conclusion, mechanical magic was even defended by Dee as a necessary part of the original, true church when noting that: 'You see this Philosophicall Power & Wisedome, which *Moses* had, to be nothing misliked of the Holy Ghost'.¹⁶ As Dee noted, Moses had himself been falsely accused of being a wicked *Magicien*'. Written with the artisan in mind, Dee's 'Preface' lacks the overt occultism of, say, his *Monas hieroglyphica*, whilst nevertheless reflecting aspects of its cosmology. In 1583 Dee was to visit Prague and witnessed the palace of Rudolf II, with its wonder rooms for the magico-mechanical experimentation into perpetual motion, squaring the circle and similar quests, and the collection of automata of all kinds.¹⁷

One of the main works outlining mechanics as a form of practical magic published in Jones's lifetime was John Wilkins's *Mathematicall MAGICK, Or The Wonders that may be performed by Mechanicall Geometry* (1648), largely based on the section on mechanics in Fludd's *Utriusque Cosmi... Historia* which had in turn drawn on Dee's 'Preface'. Wilkins acknowledged both sources in the course of his description of speaking statues and automata in general.¹⁸ Like Dee before him, Wilkins intended his work to be of especial use to the artisan-craftsman. Indeed, one such student was John Webb, for both he and Charleton cited *Mathematicall MAGICK* in support of their theories on the construction of Stonehenge, now no longer a product of Merlin's magic as Geoffrey had recorded but of Wilkins's more practical magico-science.¹⁹ Mechanics of the Dee-Wilkins type obviously drew in particular on the tradition of studies of apparently magical phenomena. A demonstration of perpetual motion had been attempted in front of James in 1610,²⁰ and this evidently formed a cosmic model along the lines described by Ficino, for as an example in Wilkins's discussion of the legends of mathematical magic he reported:

Amongst the Chymicall experiments to this purpose, may be reckoned up that famous motion invented by *Cornelius Dreble*, and made for King *James*; wherein was represented the constant revolutions of the Sun and Moone, and that without the help either of spring or weights ...[perpetual motion] being that grand secret, for the discovery of which, those Dictators of Philosophie, *Democritus*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, did travell unto the Gymnosophists, and Indian Priests.

(Wilkins 1648:229)

A marginal comment in Jones's Vitruvius records his 'being in Parris the yeare 1609 a Prouancall maad a triall to make a Perpetuall mosio[n] but did not ...[succeed]'.²¹ For Wilkins, the power of mathematical magic was evidenced by the architectural wonders of antiquity, most notable amongst which had been Solomon's temple.²² Vitruvius had described aspects of mechanics as an important part of the architect's skill. Mechanical devices

comprising pulleys and weights were employed by Jones throughout his work—from manipulating the transitory stage wonders of masque to the lifting of stone in the construction of actual buildings. Indeed, it was towards assisting such building works that Dee's 'Preface' had been specifically aimed.

In Jones's design for the proscenium to Aurelian Townshend's masque *Albion's Triumph* (1632) two emblematic figures—one representing 'Theory' gazing up towards the celestial realm and the other, 'Practice', looking down towards the elemental—frame the perspective and are intended to show, as the text explains, 'that by these two all works of architecture and ingining have their perfection' (lines 39–40). This makes clear that the Platonic realm of *Idea*, aspired to by theory, can only be realised through the practice of art.²³ Such Vitruvian 'ingingin' in masque gave substance to the Platonic ideals by creating what were essentially mechanical models of the cosmos in the tradition of Ficino, testimony in themselves to the power of the royal patron to comprehend and control the workings of nature through the medium of art itself. Although in the absence of any stage handbook it is unclear how or where Jones learned his stagecraft,²⁴ the masque was the most complete realisation of the mechanical arts as outlined and experimented in by Dee. His 'Preface' is thus once again the most obvious native source for such a complex and, in Britain, unprecedented form of mechanical theatre. Most of the action within the masque was enacted not on the stage itself but in front of it, with the area to the rear of the proscenium being essentially for scenic machinery.²⁵ These machines were an intrinsic part of the drama, representing a backstage application of the supposed mathematico-mechanical principles of nature and the power of the mind to comprehend its workings as celebrated on the stage itself. This is confirmed by the fact that automata themselves formed the subject of settings, such as the figure of Atlas in Jonson's *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (1618), the 'huge head' of which, according to Orazio Busino, 'rolled its eyes and moved itself with wonderful cunning'.²⁶ In Carew's text for *Coelum Britannicum* (1634) the audiences wonder at the power of Vitruvian mechanics is recorded as part of the stage directions:

The dance being past, there appears in the furthest part of the heaven coming down a pleasant cloud, bright and transparent, which coming softly downwards before the upper part of the mountain, embraceth the genius, but so as through it all his body is seen; and then rising again with a gentle motion bears up the Genius of the three kingdoms, and being past the airy region, pierceth the heavens, and is no more seen. At that instant the rock with the three kingdoms on it sinks and is hidden in the earth. This strange spectacle gave great cause of admiration, but especially how so huge a machine, and of that great height, could come from under the stage, which was but six foot high.

(lines 960–70)

Jones employed two types of machinery in the masque: the ‘*machina versatilis*’, a two-sided setting on a central pivot which was revolved from beneath the stage, and the more frequently used ‘*scena ductilis*’, or tractable scene, first developed for Jonson’s *Oberon* (1611), comprising a number of flats or shutters set in grooves on the stage which could be quickly drawn aside to reveal the setting behind. Whilst the former lacked flexibility in being changeable no more than once, the latter was limited only by the number of grooves in the stage.²⁷ Through these means the Vitruvian engineer became akin to the magus in his capacity to work transformations. Indeed in the *Tempest* (1612) Prospero alluded to the mechanics of masque, or ‘rack’, for in directing a small masque the magician exclaims,

Our revels now are ended. These our actors,
As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
Are melted into air, into thin air;
And like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve;
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind.

(IV, i, 148–56)

An important aspect to Jones’s mechanical virtuosity was the development of the theatrical heavens. Flying devices and cloud machines evoked changes in climate on stage and, more significantly, opened up the heavenly realm itself to the drama of masque in its visualisation of the Platonic hierarchy. In thus elevating the elemental realm to that of the celestial, the Platonic triple worlds were apparently transcended through mechanics, much as Dee had thought these worlds could be transcended through numerical conjuration.

In their reliance on mathematics many technical aspects of architecture naturally had an occult content, as Dee’s ‘Preface’ indicates. In common with the architecture of Jones’s stage sets, his actual architecture may well have been designed to take account of the optical rules of perspective. Also much as in masque, mechanics played an important role on the building site. The works accounts testify to the importance of cranes in the mechanics of refacing St Paul’s,²⁸ for example, as a surviving drawing by Webb illustrates (Figure 16).²⁹ Whilst referring to the building of Stonehenge, Webb provides further insight into this use of cranes at St Paul’s presented as a direct application of Dee’s ‘Archimedean’ art of lifting weights, called ‘Menadry’:³⁰

Furthermore, why might [Stonehenge]...not be raised by a Pair of Shears composed of two Masts, focketted or mortaised into a Plank? which resting upon the Ground, was removed at Pleasure; having GuideTackles, Blocks and Shivers proportionable, and Capitals also, firmed in proper

and convenient Places: since that in the same manner we have beheld hanging in the Air above thirty, forty, yea, seventy Foot high, those ponderous Masses in the Work at St Paul's, and with a delightful Facility veered by ten or twelve Men only, to the just Places where they were ordered to be set.... All which, nevertheless, I leave to be farther enquired into by those that are better skilled in the Art of Menadry than I pretend.

(Webb 1665:214–15)

Webb's stones 'beheld hanging in the Air' at St Paul's certainly hint at mechanical magic, echoing the mechanical contrivance of masque. Indeed following his reference to Wilkins's work, this passage confirms Webb's direct familiarity with Dee's 'Preface'. Mechanics was, however, more explicitly

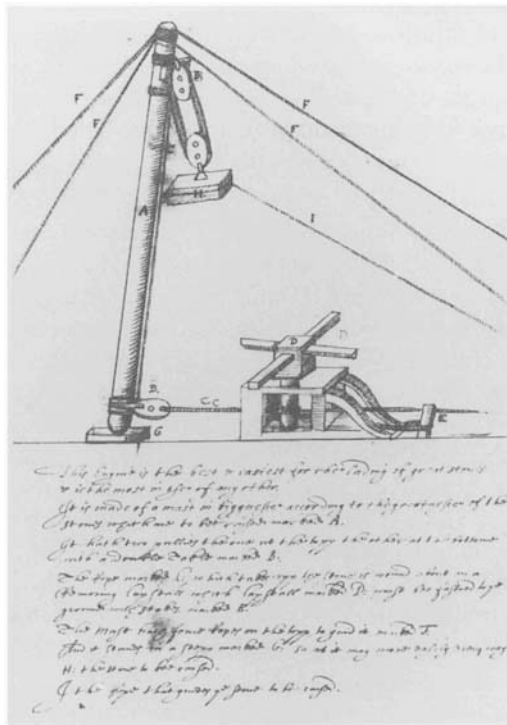


Figure 16 John Webb's design for a pulley for raising stones at St Paul's (1637), made in his capacity as Jones's 'clerk engrosser' on the cathedral works (Stafford Letters, vol. 24–5 (133), 14 July 1637: Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, Central Library, Sheffield). (Courtesy of Olive, Countess Fitzwilliam's Wentworth Settlement Trustees, Sheffield Central Library.)

celebrated in the Renaissance as an art in its own right through automata, marvels in the spirit of the legendary mechanics of antiquity. Works of this nature were introduced by Stuart courtiers into the gardens surrounding their country houses as a direct attempt to perfect the natural world.

ISAAC AND SALOMON DE CAUS AND THE STUART COURT GARDEN AS AN IMAGE OF EDEN

As the paradigm of natural perfection and original setting of humankind's unity with God, the restoration of the Garden of Eden came to be seen in the Renaissance as the goal of magico-scientific investigation in its various forms. Hence, through witnessing the application of such study in actual gardens, in their mechanical and optical wonders together with their plans shaped to reflect emblems and devices recalling the supposed alphabet of Adam, it was thought that Renaissance man glimpsed an image of the original garden. Through these means the artist, or rather the Vitruvian engineer, made visible the underlying patterns and harmony of creation. This reflected the theory of alchemists in particular who saw the natural world as a divine chemical laboratory, since in their view God had given man two books to read, the Bible and the Book of Nature.³¹ Hence, as the frontispiece of Michael Maier's book of emblems entitled *Atalanta fugiens* (1617) illustrates, alchemical emblematics frequently pictured the garden as the setting for magico-spiritual enlightenment.³² Here the transmutation of the four seasons appeared to make visible and thereby confirm alchemical processes, reflecting the implicit unity of the four elements.³³

As a self-contained domain, Court gardens were akin to the masque in their expression of the Stuart monarch as the agent for the restoration of earthly harmony. The glimpses of Arcadia in Caroline masques such as Walter Montagu's *The Shepherd's Paradise* (1633) reflected in particular the pastoral Neoplatonism of Honoré d'Urfé's *L'Astrée* (1610–19),³⁴ creating the setting for the cult of love between the royal couple. This inspired the naturalistic area of actual Stuart gardens and foreshadowed the romantic, apparently untamed gardens of the following century. However, with its origins in the Elizabethan heraldic palace gardens³⁵ and in representing elemental harmony the Stuart garden as a whole was by contrast one of formal pattern, as surviving illustrations testify. In this, as the previous chapter noted, we have a further realm of design in which medieval heraldry was absorbed into Renaissance iconography and order. Thomas Browne, in *The Garden of Cyrus... Mystically considered* (1658), made clear with reference to 'Cabalistically *Dogma*' that such geometric 'net-works' had been the underlying order of the gardens of antiquity, and he even traced them to the Garden of Eden.³⁶ Garden layouts were on occasion conceived as direct geometric models of the macrocosm. The Countess of Bedford's garden at Twickenham Park (c. 1609) was laid out in concentric circles as a model of the pre-Copernican cosmos,

moving from the central Earth to the outer Saturn. One of the most famous sixteenth-century gardens conceived as a cosmological model was that of the Danish astronomer and alchemist Tycho Brahe on the Danish island of Hveen.³⁷ Brahe's garden was certainly not unknown in Stuart England, Wotton noting in his rules for garden design that:

Groues, and artificiall devices under ground, are of great expence, and little dignitie; which for my part I could wish converted here into those *Crypteria*, whereof mention is made among the curious provisions of *Ticho Bragbe* the *Danish Ptolemie*, as I may well call him: which were deepe *concaves* in gardens, where the *starres* might be observed even at *noone*.

(Wotton 1624:112–13)

The axis of Tycho Brahe's house and gardens related to the four cardinal points, whilst the overall plan was dominated by the square and circle reflecting the relationship of microcosm to macrocosm and the quest to square the circle implicit in the alchemical mysticism studied by the astronomer. Wotton owned a copy of Tycho Brahe's *Astronomica Instauratae Mechanica* (1598) in which the garden plan was illustrated,³⁸ whilst as the Introduction noted, James I had himself evidently appreciated this garden and its automata during his visit to Hveen in 1589–90.

Within the Renaissance garden the forces of the Platonic elements were harnessed to work seemingly miraculous devices in the spirit of those of Hermetic legend. These included animated statues worked by the sun, solar clocks, harmonic water organs, and elaborate allegorical fountains. In thus harnessing nature itself, apparently to reveal the harmony of the macrocosm and thereby make occult relationships both visible and audible, the application of this technical magic in fountains and the like also provided a practical demonstration of the harmony of Stuart rule. The two most influential Italian Renaissance gardens in which magico-mechanical effects were displayed were those of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli and the Villa Pratolino near Florence. Both gardens were well known in the Stuart period: on visiting the Villa d'Este in the second decade of the seventeenth century, an English traveller noted³⁹ that:

the birds do sing, sitting upon twigs, so naturally, as one would verily think they were all quick and living birds...and, when they are in the midst of their best singing, then comes an owl flying: and the birds suddenly, all at once, are still.

(Anon. 1810:31)

With its water effects and miraculous automata, the garden at Pratolino had been designed by the Medici Court architect-engineer Bernardo Buontalenti. His elaborate theatrical mechanics developed for the intermezzi of 1589 had

evoked stage images of Platonic *Ideas*, and it was this realm which his garden attempted to visualise through an equivalent mechanical contrivance but in more permanent form.⁴⁰ This supposed improvement of nature by mechanical means was most evident in the realm of the grotto. The Renaissance grotto was seen as the perfect setting for magico-spiritual enlightenment, since the cave had been chosen as the place of Christ's resurrection (Matthew 27:60) and was the repository for the secrets of nature as cultivated in the lore of such enigmatic groups as the Rosicrucians: a cave of enlightenment was pictured in Nicola d'Antonio degli Agli's alchemical manuscript *Nozze* (1480) and in Steffan Michelspacher's *Cabala* (1654), for example. The mechanical wonders in the grotto might thus be seen to have formed a practical demonstration of the alchemical view of nature which these works illustrated. The cave at Pratolino was described by the English traveller Fynes Moryson in the 1590s:

In the said Cave, a head of marble distelleth water; and two trees by the turning of a cocke shed waters abundantly, and a little globe is turned about by Cupid, where the Images of Duckes dabble in the water, and then looke round about them; and in the midst of a marble table is an instrument, which with great art and force, driveth water into any furthest part of the Cave.

(Moryson 1907: I, 328)

Pratolino influenced the gardens of Henri IV at Fontainebleau and St Germain-en-Laye, with fountains, grottoes, and automata designed by Tommaso Francini. The grotto at the latter was viewed by the Elizabethan architect John Thorpe⁴¹ and Prince Henry evidently knew of Francini's work, for the prince made an unsuccessful request for his services, presumably to work on his garden and grotto at Richmond. Grottoes of some complexity were realised in the Stuart period. Thomas Bushell, Francis Bacon's servant, lived as a hermit or magus over his grotto which by report had been 'a *Rock* so wonderfully contrived by *Nature* her self, that he thought it worthy of all imaginable advancement *by Art*';⁴² witnessed on completion in 1636 by Charles and Henrietta Maria, this grotto was known as the 'Enstone Marvels' and contained such effects as the sudden evocation of rain, rainbows, bird-song, and a silver ball held up on a spout of water. John Bate's *The Mysteries of Nature and Art* (1634) contained a section entitled 'Of Water-Workes', illustrating the hidden mechanisms of such automata based, in part, on the descriptions by Hero of Alexandria.

The grotto provided a natural counterpart to the masque in uniting music, mechanical illusion, and framed settings to form an emblematic tableau representing cosmic harmony. The proscenium arch served to emphasise the self-contained nature of the masque, a mode of mechanical theatre developed in England at exactly the same time that hydraulic and mechanical wonders

were introduced into the Court garden within the equally self-contained, theatrical world of the grotto.⁴³ Both masque and grotto contrasted harmony with disorder, mechanical and architectural perfection with wilderness,⁴⁴ and both contrived an illusion of the Renaissance artists' mastery over natural forces. It was also at this time that the optical principles of perspective became employed in the planning of Court gardens, with the visual experience controlled by arches, vistas, radial walks, and axial avenues created by means of foliage or stonework.⁴⁵ The arrangement of the Stuart garden in its approach via a terrace and the symmetrical ordering of the view around a central axis reflected the scene within the masquing hall itself, with the garden terrace representing an audience platform or 'auditorium'. Since the principal chambers of the house were ideally positioned to align with the central vista, as the Jones-Webb design for Wilton House illustrates (see Figure 18), a privileged view of the scene was afforded to the owner much as the masque arrangement was centred on the king. Wotton recorded this experience in extolling Renaissance gardens on the Italian model:

I have scene a *Garden* (for the maner perchance incomparable) into which the first Accesse was a high walke like a *Tarrace*, from whence might bee taken a generall view of the whole *Plott* below; but rather in a delightfull confusion, then with any plaine distinction of the pieces. From this the *Beholder* descending many steps, was afterwards conveyed againe, by severall *mountings* and *valings*, to various entertainments of his *sent*, and *sight*...every one of these diversities, was as if hee had beene *Magically* transported into a new Garden.

(Wotton 1624:109)

This artificial control reflected the audience's 'magical transportation' through the garden scenes of masque, depicted as a sequence of interconnected spaces leading to allegorical buildings, statues, or fountains.

Elizabethan heraldic devices and topiary had expressed the cult of the queen as the spring goddess Astraea, characterised most notably in the *Rainbow Portrait* at Hatfield which immortalised Elizabeth as the floral goddess. Through their imposition on nature of symmetrical planning, with ordered walks and perspective vistas, Caroline Court gardens sought to present an image not merely of royal harmony with nature but of absolute royal control over the floral world as a corollary of the absolute monarch's magical power over the heavenly realm and its flora, the stars. Indeed the stellification of the garden was a common theme in Caroline masque. Jonson's *Love's Triumph through Callipolis* (1631), for example, concluded with the marriage between heaven and the earthly Court garden, with the stage directions noting: 'the scene changeth to a garden, and the heavens opening, there appear four new persons in form of a constellation' (lines 163–4). Wotton recorded an equivalent attempt at actual control over nature and its flora,

within the remodelled garden of Sir Henry Fanshawe (Prince Henry's favourite) at Ware Park,⁴⁶

hee did so precisely examine the *tinctures*, and *seasons* of his *flowres*, that in their *setting*, the *inwardest* of those which were to come up at the same time, should be alwayes a little *darker* then the *outmost*, and so serve them for a kinde of gentle *shadow*, like a piece not of *Nature*, but of *Arte*.

(Wotton 1624:110)

In the Caroline masque, natural harmony as depicted in garden backdrops was presented as a perfect emblem for that constituted by the royal couple. Here the garden's stellar flowers heralded the perpetual spring of the Golden Age under the rule of the queen cast as the goddess Flora.⁴⁷ This view of nature as a wilderness tamed by the magical influence of the royal will is central to Carew's *Coelum Britannicum* (1634), for example, in which Jones's scene depicting a wild landscape was replaced by

a new and pleasant prospect clean differing from all the other, the nearest part showing a delicious garden with several walks and parterras set round with low trees, and on the sides against these walks were fountains and grots, and in the furthest part a palace from whence went high walks upon arches, and above them open terraces planted with cypress trees, and all this together was composed of such ornaments as might express a princely villa.

(lines 1015–21)

This stage view of a Caroline paradise with a Vitruvian villa-temple at its focus (Figure 17) can be read as the general programme for Court gardens of the period. For example the remodelled garden at Wilton House (Figure 18), probably the most coherent Caroline garden, attempted in ways to be examined shortly to reflect the Stuart revival of Arcadia and national antiquity which *Coelum Britannicum* celebrated. The masques equally indicate a reading for specific garden elements: the fashionable Tudor maze, for example, was used as an allegory for Platonic love in Jonson's *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (1618), where it was declared that 'all actions of mankind/Are but a labyrinth or maze' (lines 249–50) and 'The subtlest maze of all, that's love' (line 288). Here finding the path through the maze of love reconciled pleasure to virtue, the maze thus resolving these potentially opposing forces in the spirit of Platonic unity. This theme was clearly expressed in the garden at Theobalds, in which the maze led to a statue of the goddess Venus. With their hedges, trees, and lakes moulded to form emblematic devices within perspective vistas, Stuart gardens attempted to perfect nature, and thereby bring man closer to God by restoring the conditions before the Fall. As such they were projected in the

masque as a stage towards the permanent transformation of the whole garden of England to the Edenic glory celebrated by Court mythology. This found clearest expression in the gardens designed by Salomon de Caus for Prince Henry at Richmond and for Anne of Denmark at Somerset House or later that made by his younger brother Isaac,⁴⁸ for the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton.

In the early Stuart Court Prince Henry took a special interest in Renaissance garden design, as an aspect of his general patronage of the arts to express policy. Here the prince paid particular attention to the applications of the arts of mechanics and perspective. Henry's tutor in perspective was the Huguenot garden architect and hydraulic engineer Salomon de Caus,⁴⁹ whose work *La Perspective avec La Raison des Ombres et Miroirs* was published in London in 1612 and was dedicated to the prince.⁵⁰ Like Dee before him, de Caus makes clear that the design of architecture was to be governed by the rules of perspective as a branch of the mathematico-magical arts. It would also seem clear from this that he applied perspective theory in his subsequent garden designs for the prince. Later, after Henry's death, when dedicating the second part of his *Les Raisons des Forces Mouvantes avec diverses Machines* to Princess Elizabeth, de Caus reminded her of her brother's interest in mechanics and hydraulics. Inspired by Vitruvian mechanics, this work was printed in Frankfurt in 1615–16 and reprinted in Paris in 1624 with an additional second volume entitled *Livre Second ou sont desseignées plusier Grotes & Fontaines*; in the same year and again in Paris de Caus published *La Pratique et Démonstration des Horloges Solaires*, a work on sundials in fact written in Heidelberg.

Salomon de Caus thus became one of the main European exponents of garden engineering in its practical demonstration of Platonic harmony, as outlined in works frequently dedicated to the British Court in particular. His first designs in England were not in fact for Henry but for James's queen, Anne of Denmark. In 1611 he started to design fountains, grottoes, and water works at Richmond for Prince Henry, whilst in the same year planning water works at Hatfield House.⁵¹ The Italian Neoplatonic engineer Constantino de Servi had also been summoned by Henry to prepare designs for Richmond, reported to be for 'fountains, summer houses, galleries and other things on a site in which his Highness is most interested'.⁵² Here de Servi rivalled de Caus, the former being instructed by the prince to make him a giant statue three times as large as that at Pratolino (evidently Giovanni Bologna's *Appennino*), with a dovescot in the head and two grottoes in the base. Since de Caus also designed an elaborate series of grottoes at Richmond, the exact division between the work of the two engineers remains unclear. Later de Servi was also asked to design masque sets for Henry, emphasising the interchangeability of masque and garden design.⁵³ De Servi had twice worked for Rudolf II and experience gained in Prague together with that from an earlier period at the Florentine Court of Francesco I, with its parallel interests in the occult, alchemy, and the like, must have been applied in his designs for Richmond. Hence it was not only through the travels of native Vitruvian engineers such as Dee and Jones,

but also through the active employment by the Stuart Court of foreign engineers particularly in the realm of garden design that the works of the mathematico-magical Renaissance were first introduced into England.

The actual design of Henry's garden at Richmond is unclear, however, since no drawings or detailed descriptions have survived. The work was certainly extensive, with three islands being created between the palace and the Thames, reached by bridges and steps and with water supplied via lead pipes from a cistern house. The importance of water works is emphasised by the fact that this was the first element to be started (in 1610), but like the gardens themselves was apparently never finished. Around this time islands, rivers, and fountains worked by hydraulics were also introduced into the gardens at Francis Bacon's Gorhambury, Robert Cecil's Hatfield House and Sir Henry Fanshawe's Ware Park. In *Les Raisons de Caus* makes clear that, in illustrating labyrinths, water organs, and grottoes with automata, he is recording the designs made for Prince Henry, some of which must have been built at Richmond since this was the only site at which he executed work for the prince.

Elizabethan Court gardens had formed important settings for the enactment of progresses, pageantry, and festive celebrations of Albion mythology, a notable example being the entertainments given by Lord Hertford in 1591 at

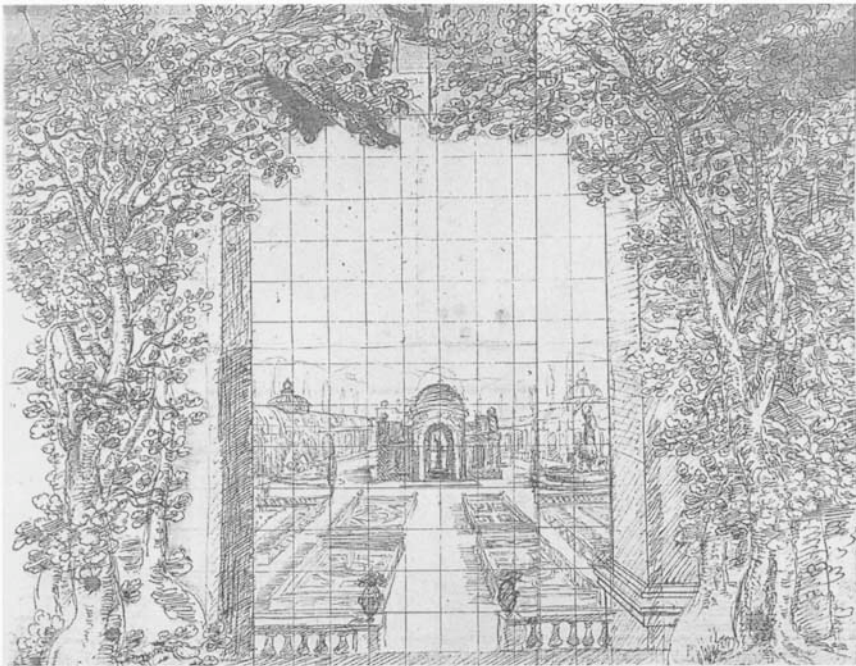


Figure 17 Garden scene from Thomas Carew's *Coelum Britannicum* (1634) (Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth). (Reproduced by permission of the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.)

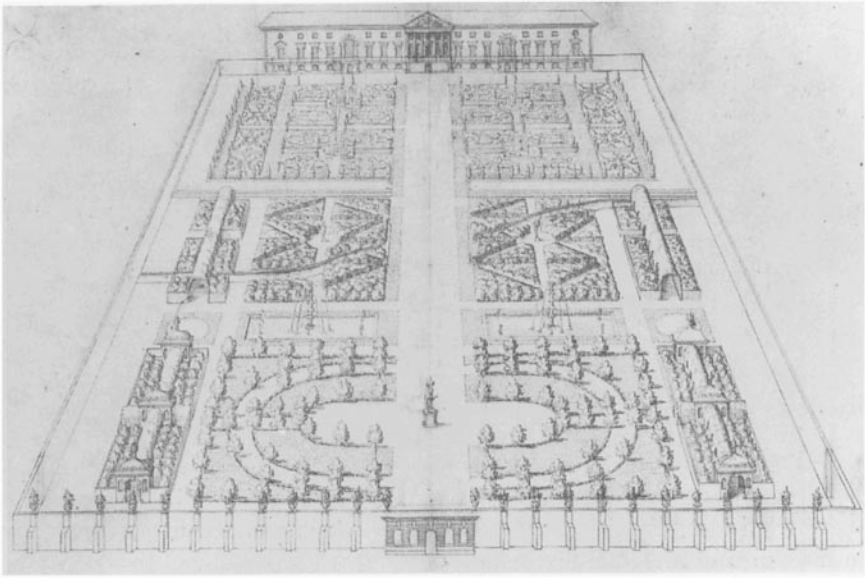


Figure 18a Engraved view of Wilton House and garden by Isaac de Caus from *Le Jardin de Wilton*, London (c. 1645). (By permission of the British Library.)

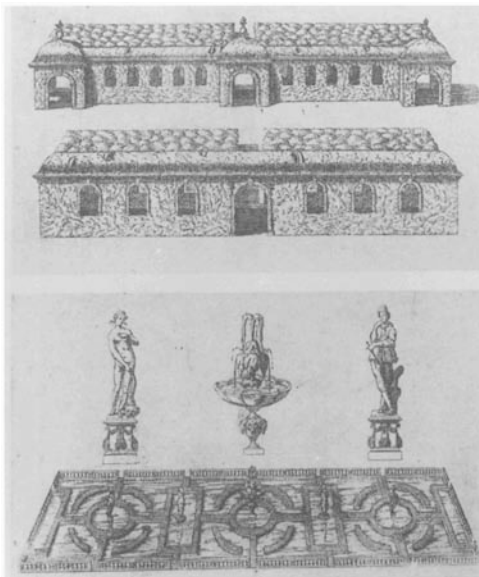


Figure 18b Arbours (top) and water parterre (bottom).

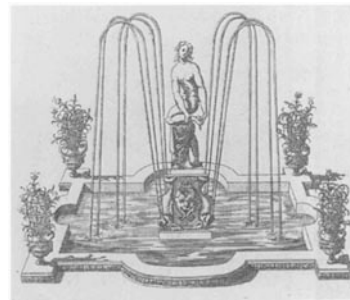


Figure 18c Fountain depicting Venus removing a thorn from her foot, the legendary source of the red rose, a white one having been stained by her blood.

Eleventhham in Hampshire for which a large crescent lake had been dug.⁵⁴ As an attempt to create a magical garden on the Renaissance model, Richmond must have been seen as an ideal realm for the extension of this Neoplatonic Arthurian mythology which the prince himself aimed to personify. Indeed the design of its layout and water works coincided with the main expressions of this mythology in the form of Jonson's *Barriers* (1610) and *Oberon* (1611), and Henry's patronage of Peacham's *Minerva Britannia* (1612) and Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1613) which were both dedicated to the prince; Marcelline's contemporary Neoplatonic eulogy on this British theme, *The Triumphs of King James the First* (1610), was also dedicated to Henry. It was noted in Chapter 3 that Peacham presented a series of heraldic emblems casting Albion as a Neoplatonic Garden of Eden, and as such perhaps more specifically Peacham here recorded the programme behind the Richmond garden. Hence the grottoes and statues at Richmond might be seen to have heralded the prince's fulfilment of Merlin's prophecy of the physical restoration of Albion, associated with Henry in contemporary masques in which garden elements themselves featured in the backdrop: Oberon's fairy palace was supported on a rusticated grotto base, whilst the vision of antique architecture in the *Barriers* which the prince 'by the might/And magic of his arm he may restore' included a grotto. Indeed, here the ruined 'House of Chivalry' and 'St George's portico' (see Figures 5 and 6) are set in what has become untamed nature, but both were evidently once in harmony with it. As a further reflection of this British theme, the vast grotto fountain designed by Salomon de Caus for the queen in the garden at Somerset House formed a mountain surmounted by Apollo, around which reclined four river gods (later illustrated in *Les Raisons*), thus proclaiming the unity of the principal rivers of the newly reunited 'Great Britain' headed by the Thames. In signifying Mount Parnassus, the seat of the Muses, this celebrated the royal Apollo as patron of the arts; royal artistic patronage flows, like water, from above to below. More specifically this fountain extended the theme of Anne of Denmark as 'Tethys', the Queen of the Ocean and of the Nymphs of the British rivers, as she had been presented in Samuel Daniel's masque of 1610 celebrating the investiture of Henry as Prince of Wales; indeed, a scene in Daniel's masque had itself featured a fountain.

After the death of the prince in 1612 work at Richmond was abandoned, but gardens were subsequently realised on a larger scale by Salomon de Caus at Heidelberg castle, the home of Henry's sister, Elizabeth, after her marriage in 1613 to Frederick V, the Elector Palatine. Elizabeth's London marriage festival had reflected her brother's mythology through themes of Neoplatonic harmony in the guise of British legend. On Frederick's investiture with the Order of the Garter fireworks emblazoned across the sky the order's emblem of St George and the Dragon, on land a magician's castle formed the centrepiece, whilst as part of these festivities *The Tempest* was performed before the Court, an appropriate choice given the play's wedding masque conjured by Prospero for the entertainment of the young lovers Ferdinand and Miranda. As an

extension of this world, de Caus's design for the garden at Heidelberg with its cosmological plan, automata, and other wonders of magico-science⁵⁵ must have closely resembled his plans for Henry at Richmond.

At Heidelberg de Caus attempted a direct re-creation of the legendary magico-mechanical wonders of antiquity. Vitruvius described a water organ in the course of his record of the mechanical achievements of the ancients (X.viii), and under 'Pneumatithmie' Dee notes that: 'Pumps and all maner of Bellowes, have their ground of this Art: and many other straunge devises. As, *Hydraulica*, Organes goyng by water &c. Of this Feat, (called commonly *Pneumatica*,) goodly workes are extant, both in Greke, and Latin.'⁵⁶ Salomon de Caus built a water organ at Heidelberg, having outlined the required mechanics in his *Institution Harmonique Diversée en deux Parties* (1615). This work was dedicated to Anne as his first patron in England and, in repeating the Neoplatonic commonplace of music as the principal art in its embodiment of Pythagorean harmony, makes clear that through the mechanism of the organ this hidden harmonic structure of nature and its elements—in this case water—could be harnessed and perceived. In supposedly imitating the voice of nature, such music was thought to parallel the original language in its purity. Further examples of de Caus's work at Heidelberg in imitation of antiquity included a re-creation of the legendary statue of Memnon (which became animated when the sun's rays struck it); this was illustrated in *Les Raisons*, whilst views of the garden were engraved by Matthieu Merian for de Caus's *Hortus Palatinus* (1620). As a consequence of this attempt to rival antiquity, the garden at Heidelberg was itself referred to as the eighth wonder of the world, and represented an outpost of Stuart culture, the influence of which must have been considerable until its destruction at the outbreak of the Thirty Years War in 1620. This fame was due in part to its illustration in the publications of de Caus, but was also established through visits made to Heidelberg by artists and nobility. Jones could have witnessed some of the early designs by his former rival for this garden as a member of the train of the Earl of Arundel which accompanied the newly married Elizabeth and Frederick in 1613.

Henry Wotton spent six days at the Court at Heidelberg, from 16 to 23 April 1616,⁵⁷ and the works of de Caus must have been of special interest to him in their aspiration to rival the wonders of the antique world. In outlining the Vitruvian canon, Wotton's *Elements* (1624) aimed at the building of the country house in particular: 'Every Mans proper *Mansion House* and *Home*', as the opening of the second part puts it.⁵⁸ As an essential element of this, Wotton concluded with garden design in noting that 'there are *Ornaments* also without, as *Gardens, Fountaines, Groves, Conservatories of rare Beasts, Birds, and Fishes*'.⁵⁹ In concentrating on examples of mechanics Wotton illustrated the priorities of the Stuart garden, with such wonders representing a further aspect of his 'Vitruvian Neoplatonism'. He describes two examples of garden hydraulics:

Fountaines are *figured*, or only *plaine Water'd-workes*: Of either of which, I will describe a matchlesse patterne. The first, done by the famous hand of *Michael Angelo da Buonaroti*, in the figure of a *sturdie woman, washing* and *winding* of linnen clothes; in which Acte, shee *wrings* out the water that made the *Fountaine*.

(Wotton 1624:111)

This was a popular image, illustrated for example in de Caus's *Les Raisons*.⁶⁰ Later Wotton referred to '*Aviaries* of wire, to keepe Birdes of all sorts...and sometimes a *Stove* annexed, to coterper the *Aire* in Winter',⁶¹ a design which had again featured in de Caus's emblematics.⁶² Wotton alludes to garden wonders which he considered surpassed those of the standard Neoplatonic source for antique automata, Hero of Alexandria, for he describes:

certaine small *pipes* of lead, in little holes; so neatly, that they could not be well perceived, till by the turning of a cocke, they did sprout over interchangeably from side to side, aboue mans height, in forme of *Arches*, without any intersection or meeting aloft because the pipes were not exactly opposite, so as the *Beholder*; besides that, which was fluent in the *Aquaeducts* on both handes in his view, did walke as it were, under a continuall *bowre* or *Hemisphere* of water, without any drop falling on him. An *invention* for refreshment, surely farre excelling all the *Alexandrian* delicacies, and *Pneumatiques* of *Hero*.

(Wotton 1624:111–12)

Wotton's description makes clear to his Stuart reader the apparent magic of such effects.

Hydraulic magic of the type employed by Salomon de Caus continued to be applied in England in the work of his brother, Isaac. Engineer, architect, and native of Dieppe, Isaac de Caus published his *Nouvelle invention de lever l'eau plus hault que sa source avec quelques machines mouvantes par le moyen de l'eau et un discours de la conduite d'y celle* in 1644. This was based on his brother's *Les Raisons* and was itself translated, by John Leak, as *New and Rare Inventions of Waterworks* in 1659. This illustrated such wonders as a lead nightingale on a branch and explained how the bird could whistle by means of air and water pressure, a water organ blowing a trumpet at midday worked by the heat of the sun on the water, and Galatea in a cockle-shell drawn across a stretch of water by two mechanical dolphins (according to Hermes the 'just' were represented by dolphins, and as such they became a Neoplatonic symbol for the ascent of the soul).⁶³ Henrietta Maria's later alterations to her gardens at Somerset House included the addition of fountains featuring sirens astride dolphins.⁶⁴ Isaac de Caus constructed a 'rocke' or grotto with 'shellworke' under the Banqueting House for James between 1623 and 1625,⁶⁵ thus replicating in the masquing hall section the architectural ordering of Oberon's

palace (see Figure 31). This grotto was contemporary with Jones's use of grotto-shellwork as a backdrop in Jonson's masque *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion* (1624) and can be seen as a more permanent expression of the British mythology which this masque celebrated.

The gardens at Wilton House designed by Isaac de Caus and the remodelling of the house supervised by Inigo Jones achieved for Philip Herbert, fourth Earl of Pembroke, probably the most complete realisation of the Caroline villa ideal as visualised in masque.⁶⁶ Although now destroyed, the garden was recorded by Isaac de Caus in a series of engravings entitled *Le Jardin de Wilton* (c. 1645) (see Figure 18). The river Nadder, which flowed through the garden, provided water for the gardens spectacular hydraulic displays. The famous grotto located at the end of the long central walk and again approached through a Banqueting House (which was a common feature of Court gardens) contained the most notable of these hydraulic wonders. Around 1682 Celia Fiennes recorded that in the grotto were:

severall pipes in a line that with a sluice spoutts water up to wett the Strangers...there are figures at each corner of the roome that can weep water on the beholders...on each side is two little roomes which by the turning their wires the water runnes in the rockes you see and hear it, and also it is so contrived in one room that it makes the melody of Nightingerlls.
(Fiennes 1947:9)

Roy Strong has suggested that the celebrated Caroline virtues of 'Love' and 'Chastity' as represented at Wilton in embroidered parterres and statues, including Venus cradling Cupid carved by Nicholas Stone, symbolised the qualities of the countess, whilst a statue of the Borghese gladiator on the other side of the wilderness recalled the chivalrous virtues of the earl.⁶⁷ This balance naturally reflected the Platonic harmony of Caroline masque, mediated at Wilton by an 'anti-masque' characterised by a wilderness which was presided over by Bacchus and Flora, deities of natural profusion. The British imperial theme was celebrated in an equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, whilst a statue of Pegasus over the cascade associated the waters with the springs of Helicon, released by the touch of Pegasus' hoof.

No entire garden survives from the period before the Civil War.⁶⁸ The Stuart Court gardens were ultimately swept away by the twin forces of Puritan theology and the changing conception of nature: advocates of the former destroyed the statuary and fountains as symbols of absolutism, whilst theorists in the latter encouraged the movement from the emblematic garden of magical transformations to the garden of botanical science and horticulture. Automata were themselves simultaneously vehicles for the demonstration of mythology and, on the other hand, mechanical principles. When considered as an artifact the garden is the ideal realm in which to chart this changing attitude of man to the natural world, the ultimate arena for the taming of nature by

art. Indeed, in this realm perfected nature became art. No other artist, not even the masque designer, could rival the garden engineer in his apparent harnessing of occult forces in the service of the Crown. Court gardens evolved from being a medium for Tudor heraldic display into being a further expression of the Stuart conception of England as the original garden. And as such, gardens became the natural setting for the Vitruvian architectural ideal examined in the following chapters.

V

'Dee *in his* Mathematicall Preface...*the West end of S.Pauls*'

ARCHITECTURE AND THE GEOMETRY OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE

ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, WHITEHALL PALACE, AND VILLALPANDO'S TEMPLE OF SOLOMON

The restoration of the Golden Age of Albion under Stuart rule was most publicly proclaimed in Court architecture, and found particular expression in the Solomonic references behind both the refacing of St Paul's Cathedral and the planned palace at Whitehall. With its ceiling picturing James as Solomon, the Banqueting House was merely the first stage in this planned palace. Indeed, Solomon's temple had comprised a palace, monastery, and church. Themes expressed in Court sermons from 1620 onwards clearly sought to constitute London as the celestial New Jerusalem, a fitting capital for James thus cast as the British Solomon. In a sermon preached before James in June 1621, William Laud, then Dean of Gloucester, brought the standard analogy between the Jewish and the British Solomon to bear on the building schemes of the day.¹ The ambition was to unify city, church and empire under the concept of the New Jerusalem, for both state and church

were commended to the Jewes, and both are to us; And both under one name, *Jerusalem*.... Therefore when you sit downe to consult, you must not forget the Church; And when we kneele downe to pray, we must not forget the State: both are but one *Jerusalem*.

(Laud 1651:6)

Exhortations made by Laud on behalf of decayed St Paul's merged with these political and spiritual expectations for a united Commonwealth, whilst a constant theme of John Donne's sermons around 1620 was the idea of the British Solomon 'restoring' his capital as the New Jerusalem.²

Central to this ambition was that St Paul's be physically and spiritually 'restored' in succession to the temple of Solomon. In James's Court frequent allusion was made to Solomon's temple, later reflected in the twisted columns

on Rubens's Banqueting House ceiling. This Solomonic theme pervaded practically all Stuart propaganda in favour of restoration. After James announced his intentions to restore the cathedral in 1620, Psalm 102 was read,

Thou shalt arise, and have Mercie
upon Zion: for the time to favour her,
yea the set time is come.
For thy servants take pleasure in
her stones: and favour the dust therof.
(13–14)

William Dugdale records that these lines were 'pertinent to the business in hand'.³ In the following sermon written by the king himself, the Bishop of London further proclaimed St Paul's at the centre of a royalist New Jerusalem, for 'Here hath the Lord ordained...the *thrones of David*, for judgement; and *the chaire of Moyses*, for instruction', adding that 'This Church is your *Sion* indeed, others are but *Synagogues*, this your *Jerusalem the mother to them all*'.⁴ Following the Cabalistic themes within this sermon, the influence of a Christian Cabala (with its roots in Hebrew theology) could be expected in Jones's subsequent work on the restoration of the seat of David and Moses. A Solomonic theme was clearly expressed in the cathedral iconography. According to Ezekiel, 'above the door' of Solomon's temple were to be found 'cherubims and palme trees' (41:17–18). This was mirrored in Jones's unexecuted design for the cathedral's west front (see Figure 25). Inside Solomon's temple were carved lions, together with cherubim and palm trees (I Kings 7:36). Jones placed a winged head of a cherub over each keystone of the nave windows at St Paul's and carved lions' heads formed part of a frieze.⁵ Further, with Solomon's temple as the prototype of the architectural Orders, it is perhaps hardly surprising that Jones employed all the Orders on St Paul's, emblematic in a general sense of James cast as the British Solomon.⁶

In what later became an important masonic ceremony, William Laud led the laying of four foundation stones at the cathedral. William Dugdale reported that

the said Bishop...layd the first stone at the East end thereof: The second stone being then layd by Sir *Francis Windibank* Knight, one of his Majesties principall Secretaries of State; the third by Sir *Henry Martin*, then judge of the Perogative Court; and the fourth by the before specified *Inigo Jones*, Surveyor generall of this work.

(Dugdale 1658:139)

Elias Ashmole, lifelong astrologer and caster of horoscopes determining the time for the founding of buildings, although only 16 at the time, records this event at St Paul's in his diary for 16 September 1633.⁷ One stone was probably

laid at each corner of the cathedral (explaining the participation of four people), thus demarcating the complete 'refounding' to be achieved by the future work. These ceremonies were expressly linked by Laud with the reconsecration of pagan temples under Constantine and with Solomon's foundation of his temple (I Kings 8).⁸ By tradition foundation ceremonies were performed at specific times calculated by astrology in an attempt to draw down favourable influences on the building work, Wotton noting on the rules governing the siting of buildings that 'Some doe rather seeme a little *Astrological*, as when they warne us from Places of malign *Influence*.'⁹ Whilst in no sense a magician, Laud certainly held beliefs derived from practical magical traditions, including astrology,¹⁰ and Jones was himself also influenced by astrology.¹¹ Prynne quoted Foxe when presenting such Solomonic ceremonies as 'Superstitious, Jewish, Popish...rather a conjuration then a consecration',¹² continuing that Laud 'needs must introduce this Popish Innovation...even at the Cathedrall of *Pauls* it self'.¹³ With its Catholic origins, the old cathedral fabric itself naturally became implicated in the general branding of Catholicism as 'meere Magique'.¹⁴ Hence mainly through the reshaping of rituals from the medieval church, Laud's movement towards a church resplendent in the beauty of holiness, in succession to that of Solomon, inevitably carried the stigma of magic to Puritan critics.¹⁵

In foreshadowing the spiritual claims of the Stuart Court and church, it was noted that the craft lore of medieval masons had regarded the building of Solomon's temple as embodying the craft secrets supposedly dictated by God, knowledge of which constituted their fraternity. As the supreme expression of the masons' craft, the new, or renewed, use of the Orders thereby naturally came to represent this tradition and as such became the equivalent of their heraldic device, as Chapter 3 discussed. This would have been especially true with the carving of the Orders on St Paul's given the Solomonic theme of its iconography as a whole. William Dugdale's *History of St Paul's Cathedral*, published in 1658 as a record of building work on the cathedral culminating with that by the Stuarts, opened by presenting Solomon's temple as a triumph of stonemasonry:

But *Solomon* his son it was, who having received a pattern from his Father *David*...began and perfected that glorious work (a spectacle of admiration to all the world) in which were employed thirty thousand Carpenters (Sc. ten thousand every month by course), eighty thousand Masons in the mountain, and seventy thousand labourers that bore burthens, besides three thousand three hundred Masters of his work.
(Dugdale 1658:2)

Obviously work on refacing was governed from the start by the requirements of the masons.¹⁶ Following the Solomonic foundation ceremony, according to Dugdale there was 'a great part of the Church-yard paled in, for Masons to

work in...an order was signed...to *Inigo Jones* Esquire...to cause the Inclosures and Scaffoldings to be set in hand'.¹⁷ The works accounts for April 1633 commence with the payment of carpenters 'for making of a Lodge for the Masons' (a structure intended as a night store for tools).¹⁸ In reflecting craft legend and foreshadowing Dugdale's linkage of the cathedral masons to Solomon's temple, according to Edmund Bolton the Stuart building companies had inherited noble 'Arch-mysteries' employed on the temple itself:

an hammer Smith, or worker in yron, that being one of those Archmysteries.... Nay, there belonged in Gods owne judgement so great praise to the particular excellency of some artificers, as that, in the building of *Salomons* Temple, they are registered to all posterities in Scripture.

Bolton further related that St Paul was himself initiated in such craft secrets:

And in the new Testament, *S.Paul*...had the manuall Art of *Scoenopoea*, commonly englished, Tent-making: upon Wch place of *St Pauls* trade...[he] was brought up so, by a traditionall precept, binding such as would studie sacred letters, to learne some one or other mysterie in the Mechanicks.

(Bolton 1629:20–1)

Bolton described a company apprentice as a 'Schollar in Citie-Mysteries'.¹⁹ In *Portland-Stone in Paules-Church yard* (1622), addressed by a private citizen Henry Farley to members of the 1620 Royal Commission advising Jones on restoration, the site of the cathedral is described as 'Pauls-Sion Hill'. The workmen and commissioners were jointly exhorted:

So now you Workmen, listen what we say...
 Learne by the Scriptures what you ought to doe,
 Let them direct your hands and conscience to;
Ezra, Ne'miah, Chronicles, and Kings,
 And *Haggai* will show you many things:
 How justly men did worke about the Temple,
 Which there is Registered for your example.

(Simpson 1894:198)

The books of Ezra and Nehemiah record the temple's foundation, Chronicles the architect's name, Hiram, and Kings records architectural details of Solomon's temple. The biblical prophet Haggai had exhorted the rebuilding of the temple, the role adopted by Farley himself. Indeed, to Jones's workforce the old cathedral itself would have represented a triumph of medieval masonry and its craft mysteries. The most distinguished mason working in the middle

of the fourteenth century, the 'King's Mason' William de Ramsey, had worked on the cathedral.²⁰ In the light of this, and with the old cathedral equally a monument of medieval chivalry represented by its tombs and chapels, it was probably more than just expense which prevented demolition and the building of a new cathedral.

Jones's refacing, with its Solomonian purpose and large, settled workforce, may well have been instrumental in consolidating the craft of masonry and its rituals in London, following a period of relatively few Court or church building projects, and hence may have been a step towards the institution of Freemasonry. Jonson presented Jones as in charge of 'Master *Maul*, our Free-Mason' and indeed the 'bare-breeched breathren of the RosyCross';²¹ links between the rituals of masons and Rosicrucian alchemists would have been natural enough given that the lore of both celebrated Solomon and Hermes as initiates.²² Craft rituals might well have been encouraged by association with those of the church, as indeed the foundation ceremony at the cathedral suggests. Although Freemasonry probably originated in Scotland,²³ Ashmole joined an English Lodge of speculative masons as early as 1646.²⁴

The representation of a British Solomonian antiquity was not limited to the outward show of the Orders, but found further expression through their composition. In the preface to his 1578 French translation of Giorgi's *De harmonia mundi* (1525), the Cabalist Guy Le Fevre de la Boderie emphasised the importance of Solomon's temple as having enshrined the principles of Pythagorean numerology and Euclidean geometry. As Chapter 3 noted, this concept informed the representation of the temple built with the Orders in Villalpando's commentary on Ezekiel. Solomon's temple was here proclaimed as the exemplar of architectural magic and arcane knowledge of the kind studied by Villalpando's patron, Philip II. In cultivating the title 'King of Jerusalem', Philip II had foreshadowed James in seeking to identify himself with Solomon.²⁵ It is thought that in his temple reconstruction Villalpando reflected the design of the Escorial, the church-monastery-palace built by Philip II outside Madrid.²⁶ Here a link between architecture and magic was expressed in the library frescos which feature such magical heroes as Orpheus and the Gallic Hercules, and important events in Hermetic mythology including David exorcising Saul by means of his music and Daniel instructed by the Chaldean magi. The whole building was aligned with the position of the sunset on 10 August, the feast of St Lawrence and anniversary of Philip II's victory over the French in celebration of which the Escorial had been founded. In this Hermetic context and as an expression of the twelve houses of the zodiac and tribes of Israel, the twelve-pointed Roman theatre geometry (Figure 19) and an individual circle and triangle (Figure 20) have been related to the palace plan by Rene Taylor, noting:

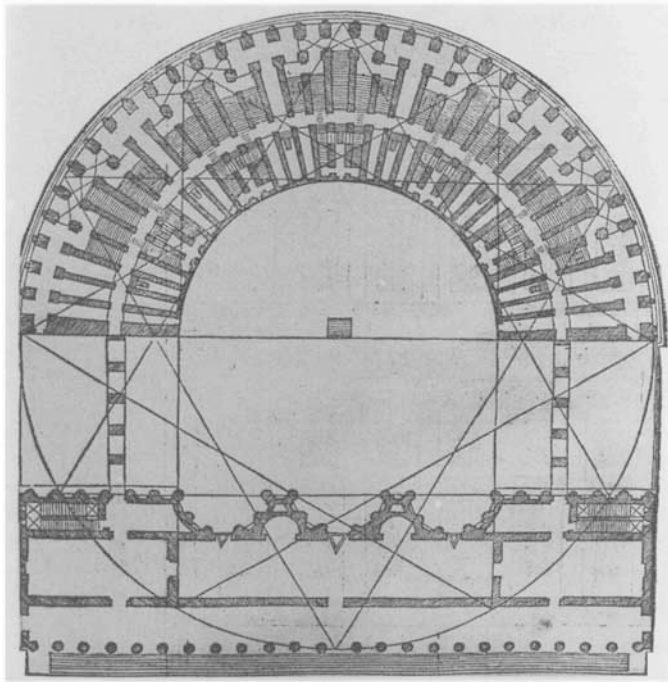


Figure 19 Palladio's illustration of the Roman theatre plan, from Daniel Barbaro's *Vitruvius*, Venice (1556). (Courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.)

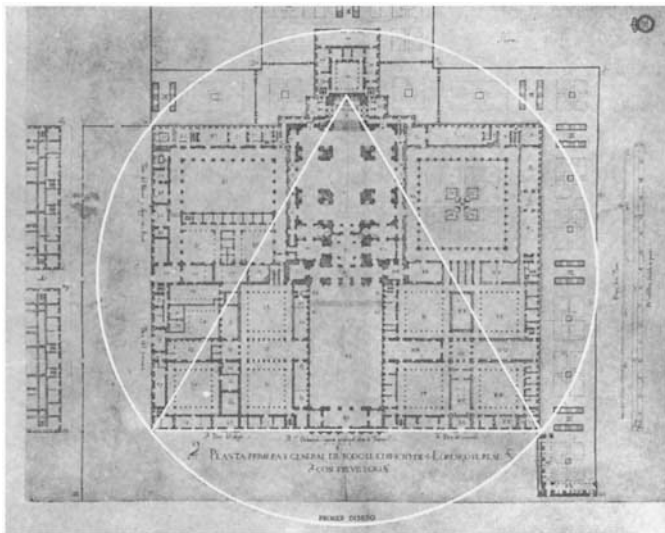


Figure 20 Suggested relationship between the Escorial, Spain, and a circle and equilateral triangle (after Rene Taylor).

The role of the circle and the triangle...are perhaps...[not] readily evident. Yet, as may be seen, a circle convincingly circumscribes the whole structure. Then too the apex of an equilateral triangle constructed on the line of the west front marks the position of the most hallowed part of the church.... Just as the Roman had used the base of his upright equilateral triangle to establish the all-important line of the *scaena* of his theatre and the apex to mark the upper limit of the semicircle enclosing the auditorium, so it may be surmised that the designer of the Escorial used them to determine the line of the main front and the position of the Sagrario, the perimeter of the *quadro* or main block being found by joining up the appropriate points in accordance with the accompanying diagrams.

(Taylor 1967:95–6)

Taylor finds it 'hardly surprising' that the palace plan embodied such a geometric construction with all its Solomonic and mystical associations'. This is emphasised by the double seal of Solomon which formed the theatre geometry, whilst a plan based on this zodiacal configuration would necessarily be in tune with the musical and astrological themes as described by Vitruvius (V.vi.1).²⁷ Villalpando detailed the anthropomorphic and musical proportions of the porticoes of Solomon's temple,²⁸ and in reference to this Taylor also points to the role of the geometry of the human figure in the design of the Escorial, noting that there was ample authority for identifying man with the triangle by way of the exemplarist geometry of St Augustine's *De Trinitate*.²⁹ In this way Villalpando's temple reconstruction reflected the *Idea* of the Escorial palace design, as a 'Hermetic' building designed for Philip II as the new Solomon.

A copy of Villalpando's commentary belonged to the old Royal Library and bears James I's arms on its binding.³⁰ Indeed, Villalpando's currency in Court circles is recorded as early as 1625 for, along with Serlio, his commentary was twice cited in *Great Britains SALOMON*, the sermon delivered by Bishop Williams at the funeral of James I.³¹ In this Williams added that '*Salomon* beautified very much his *Capitall Citie* with *Buildings*, and *Water-workes*, I *Kings* 9.15. So did King *James*...the most constant *Patron*, of *Churches*'.³² Hence as a biblical scholar and a theologian, Villalpando and his commentary were here used to justify the building enterprises of King James, as indeed in Spain his study had been seen to justify the building of the Escorial. Later, during Charles's imprisonment in Carisbrook Castle, at precisely the same time as John Webb was asked by the king to revive the Whitehall Palace project, the king's groom Sir Thomas Herbert reported that together with Spenser's *Faerie Queene* Charles studied '*Villalpandus* upon *Ezekiel*'.³³ This represented one of the last tangible reflections of the 'Albion and Jerusalem' mythology of the Court. In line with the representation of James as Solomon on the Banqueting House ceiling, at least one of Webb's early drawings for Whitehall Palace shows a square plan with central church and courtyards

identical to those in Villalpando's temple illustrations (Figure 21).³⁴ Webb certainly knew of Villalpando's study, for he produced the frontispiece for Bishop Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1655–7),³⁵ which opened with a reconstruction of Solomon's temple copied from that by Villalpando and somewhat simplified by Hollar. This illustrates a long section, chiefly about Villalpando's temple, by the French Hebraist Louis Coppel. Indeed, Webb's design for the royal bedchamber at Greenwich Palace was clearly based on Villalpando's illustration of the altar chamber in Solomon's temple (as described in Ezekiel 41:20) (Figure 22). Having pictured Mercury over the restored St Paul's, a year after producing these illustrations of Villalpando's temple, Wenceslaus Hollar engraved views of St Paul's for Dugdale's *History* (1658). Hence Hollar at least would have understood the Orders on Jones's St Paul's as signs of Solomon's temple. Incidentally, a preliminary design by Webb for the frontispiece of Walton's Bible is curiously entitled by Jones's assistant 'The Assention of Baronius'.³⁶ Perhaps in its reflection of the 'ascension' of the Hermetic enthusiast Caesar Baronius³⁷ and its representation of Moses, Webb also intended his frontispiece to proclaim the authenticity of the increasingly dismissed *Corpus Hermeticum* itself.

The Escorial provided the most obvious European precedent for Charles's Whitehall Palace project.³⁸ Roy Strong has suggested connections between the Escorial, Villalpando's temple reconstruction, and Whitehall Palace 'centring on the Solomonic idea'. Following Taylor, this involves an overlay of a circle and triangle on the palace plan (Figure 23):

The palace itself is almost a square and can be embraced within a circle whose radius stems from the centre point of the central courtyard. An equilateral triangle superimposed upon the ground-plan finds its apex in the chancel of the Chapel Royal in exactly the same way as at the Escorial.
(Strong 1980:61)

Jones and Webb may well have known of the design of the Escorial from engraved views.³⁹ Charles was entertained at the Escorial whilst visiting Spain⁴⁰ and would certainly have witnessed, amongst other treasures, the library frescos replete with their Hermetic mysticism. Spanish customs clearly influenced his later Court.⁴¹ Buckingham saw the Escorial whilst in Spain with Charles, and Bacon expressed knowledge of its design.⁴² An oblique, contemporary reference to Jones's desire to rival the Escorial has been identified in Jonson's poem 'To Inigo, Marquis Would-Be' in which the Escorial's plan, 'a forum with quadrivial streets' (line 11), is compared with Jones's intentions for Whitehall.⁴³ Further, in generally reflecting the connection in Pythagorean anthropomorphism between plans and façades,⁴⁴ this emblematic geometry can also be traced in Jones's unexecuted design for the west front of St Paul's, compatible with the Solomonic iconography employed throughout the cathedral refacing.

Henry Wotton echoed Vasari's famous dismissal of Gothic in commenting in 1624 that the pointed arch 'ought to bee exiled from judicious eyes, and left to their first inventors, the *Goths* or *Lumbards*, amongst other *Reliques* of that barbarous Age'.⁴⁵ This would suggest that according to contemporary opinion the most obvious problem Jones was faced with when masking or ordering the Gothic cathedral was its pointed section, which formed the west front.⁴⁶ That he literally masked the old Gothic section is shown in a sketch drawn after the fire of London, where the imprint of an old pointed central window is revealed on the reverse of Jones's front (Figure 24). As an example of Jones's subtlety, the three windows on his new front fit exactly within, and yet disguise, the pointed Gothic window of the old façade. This was much like the overlay of a new harmonic order on the medieval city itself, the overall objective of Jones's building projects. Webb tells us that Jones 'reduced the Body of it, from the Steeple to the *West End*, into that Order and Uniformity we now behold'.⁴⁷ Unlike Jones's work on the main body of the cathedral, his new (or remodelled) towers⁴⁸ were not restricted by existing width or height. With the old, necessarily Catholic cathedral understood as a 'confused heap' (that is Gothic), as the poet Edmund Waller described it,⁴⁹ these towers formed part of Jones's new ordered section for the west front. It follows, I suggest, that these side towers were deliberately used to extend the cathedral width and thus mask the old cathedral's pointed profile as formed by the body of the original building. Further, a coherent scheme would surely have been necessary to determine the otherwise arbitrary height and width of these new towers and thus the overall width of the new façade.

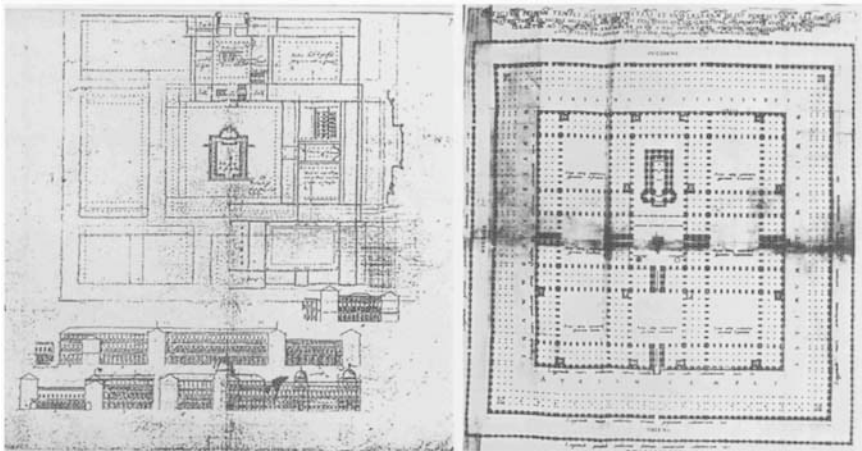


Figure 21 Plan of Whitehall Palace (a) (P2 Chatsworth 68) in comparison with Solomon's temple according to Villalpando (b) (Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth). (Reproduced by permission of the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.)

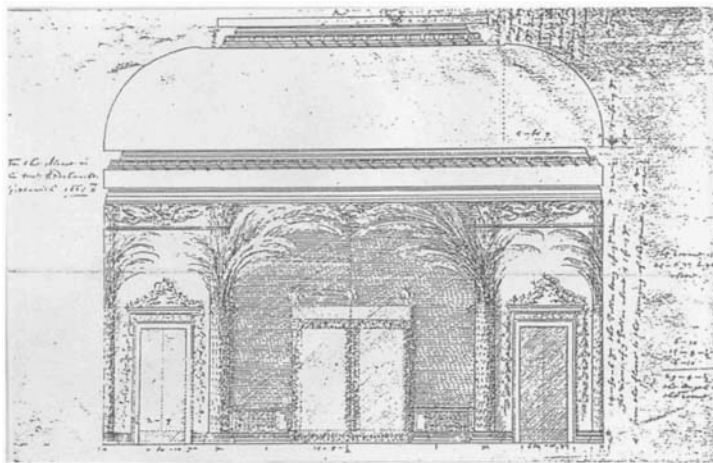
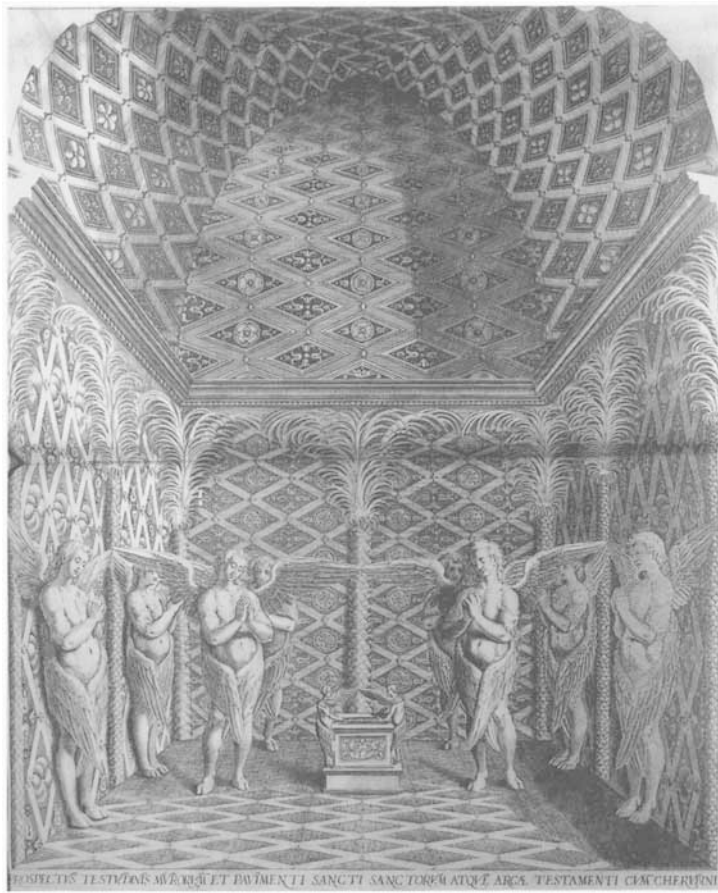


Figure 22 Villalpando's illustration of Solomon's 'Holy of Holies' (a) compared to Webb's design for the king's bedchamber, Greenwich (b) (1666). (The British Architectural Library, R.I.B.A., London.)

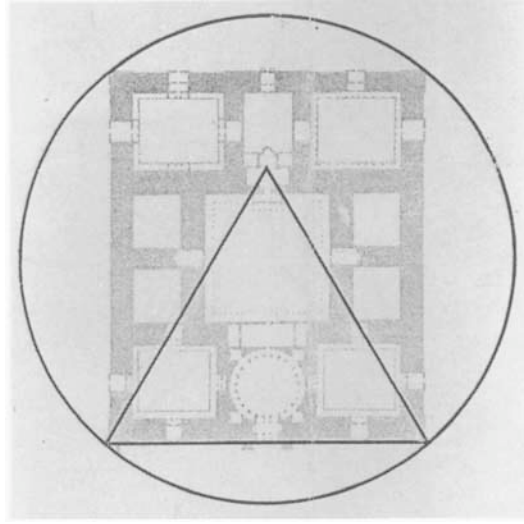


Figure 23 Suggested relationship between Whitehall Palace and a circle and equilateral triangle (after Roy Strong).

Examining Jones's (undated) first design for the west front, executed on thin, semi-transparent paper, pencil or scored construction marks comprising compass sweeps (forming an 'X') can clearly be seen between the two cherubim with palm (Figure 25). Jones used this mark (formed from freehand curves) in annotation to signify the centre on an elevational drawing in his 1560 edition of Serlio, noting to the side 'X the centor of y^e lines'⁵⁰ (in reference to voussoirs which radiate from this point, Figure 26). These are the only such compass marks on the cathedral drawing which hint at a hidden, constructed order of 'linee occulte' underlying the sketch, as traceable elsewhere in Jones's drawings.⁵¹ Against the temple of La Galluce in his Palladio (Book IV, Chapter 9), for example, Jones himself notes that it was 'formed all out of Circls as you see by the prickes'. Using the compass crossing point as a centre, a circle can be drawn enclosing the front which circumscribes the two base corners, the apex of both towers (the left ball exactly, the right slightly lower),⁵² both candelabra and the cathedral body or point on the underside of the parapet in the design (Figure 27). Taking this point as the apex of the actual façade, an upright equilateral triangle drawn within the circle coincides exactly with the cathedral base, or ground-line. If we apply the same geometric analysis to the only scale drawing of the (entirely different) constructed design (engraved by Henry Flitcroft and published in 1727, after the cathedral had been destroyed), the two base points, tower balls, obelisks (which replaced the candelabra), and apex also



Figure 24 Sketch of the south transept of St Paul's cathedral after the fire of 1666, by Thomas Wycke (1666). (Courtesy of the Guildhall Library, Corporation of London.)

fit exactly within a circle (Figure 28). However, no sense can now be made of an equilateral triangle in relation to the front of the final design, the triangular apex falling well below any meaningful point at the top of the façade. Here Flitcroft may not be accurate in recording the proportions of Jones's work, or perhaps the existing cathedral proportions were not entirely compatible with the ideal geometry embodied in the unexecuted scheme. Such geometric outlines were in fact quite common in Jones's design drawings, the architect employing five equal squares in his New Exchange elevation and a square outline for his Temple Bar arch, his sketch for the latter indicating an intended square with sides of 60 feet.⁵³

At the very least, these sweeps on the early cathedral drawing indicate without doubt that Jones was using a compass when designing this elevation,⁵⁴ following the medieval masonry practice in which Gothic proportions (such as *ad triangulum*) were derived from geometric figures formed with the dividers. The proposed scheme would explain the presence of these compass marks, generators of circles and equilateral triangles; indeed, if not serving as the centre of a circle, the central point would seem meaningless. Given traditional stonework practice and the influence of Neoplatonism in Court art, what more satisfactory scheme could Jones adopt to order his west front than



Figure 25 Detail of Inigo Jones's design for the west front of old St Paul's, showing pencil 'X' (full size). (The British Architectural Library, R.I.B.A., London.)

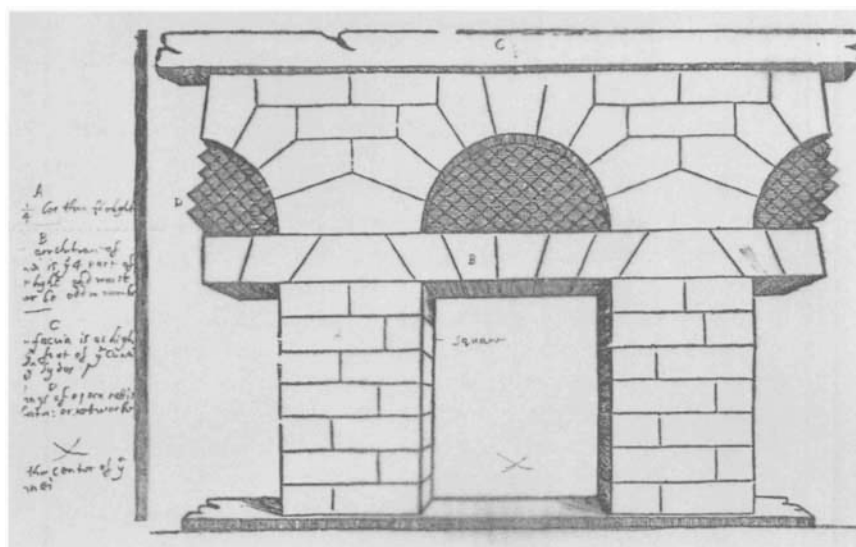


Figure 26 Annotated 'X' signifying 'centre' in Inigo Jones's 1560 edition of Serlio. (The Provost and Scholars of the Queen's College, Oxford.)

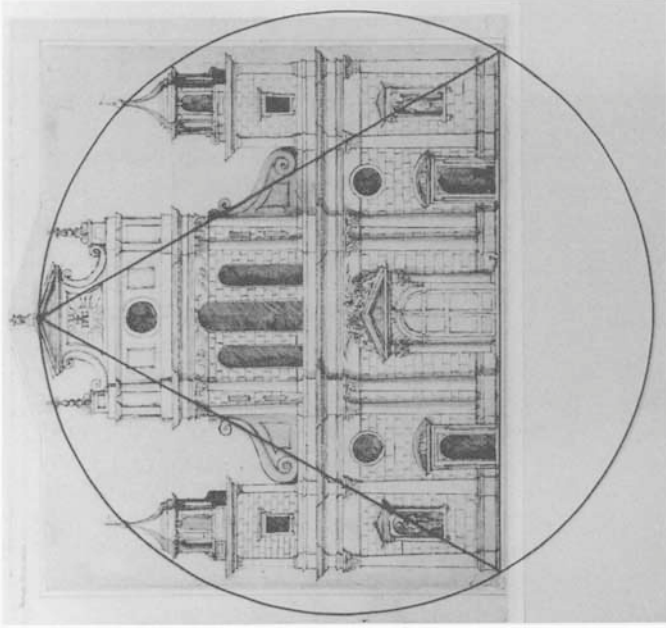


Figure 27 Design for the west front of old St Paul's in Inigo Jones's hand, unexecuted and undated, with a circle and equilateral triangle superimposed. (The British Architectural Library, R.I.B.A., London.)

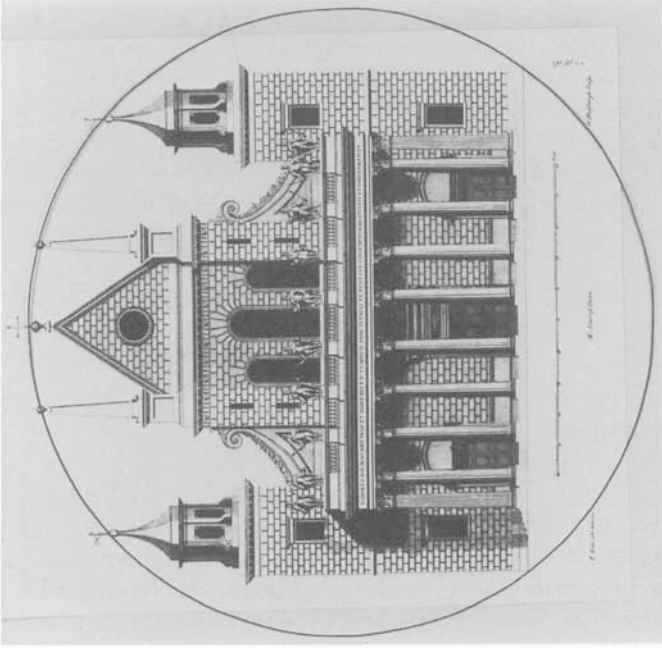


Figure 28 Jones's completed west front of St Paul's according to Henry Flitcroft, with a circle superimposed, published in William Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones*, London (1727). (Courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.)

one which inevitably evoked the triangle of the Trinity and the circle of God and a harmonic cosmos as reflected in man the microcosm? In fact, this same geometry was adopted by Jones to 'restore' Stonehenge, using a scheme which had received clear sanction from Palladio through his famous theatre illustrations (see Figure 19). Hence, more specifically, by also embodying this geometric scheme Jones's cathedral architecture reflected a verifiably British antiquity. From this we can conclude a programme for the new towers, transforming the existing cathedral front to conform to a triangle and the silhouette into a circle, thus removing the old Gothic pointed section.⁵⁵ This is compatible with the image of Platonic perfection represented by the circular temple within the masque. When passing through the central door the king would be placed at the centre of a geometrically ordered setting, as in masque. This centrality was later emphasised by the statues of the two Stuart kings placed on either side of the axis on the royally funded cathedral portico.

One obvious source can be suggested for this geometric scheme applied to order an existing Gothic cathedral on Vitruvian principles. In Cesare Cesariano's edition of Vitruvius (Como, 1521), the Gothic cathedral of Milan was represented ordered by triangular and circular geometry (Figure 29).⁵⁶ Cesariano's plates illustrated no minor point in the Roman author's treatise. They referred to the second chapter in Vitruvius's first book, which outlined that architecture consisted of 'Taxis' (Order), 'Diathesis' (arrangement or *Ideae*) and 'Oeconomia' (proportion and symmetry). Milan Cathedral thus pictured composed by *ad quadratum*, *ad triangulum*, and *ad circulum* specifically illustrated 'Diathesis' represented by 'Ichnography' or plan, and 'Orthography' or elevation. Indeed, these plates are often cited as the spiritual father of subsequent nets of magical proportions in Renaissance architecture.⁵⁷ Cesariano's commentary was heavily influenced by Neoplatonism, with its direct references to Plato and illustrations of Pythagorean musical intervals and astrological signs. Cesariano's geometry was identical to that of Jones's Stonehenge, as Tait has noted when commenting on the study by Jones of Palladio's temple of Le Galluce:

The relationship of the circles and their diameters...led him to Barbaro's and Cesariano's explanation by circles and triangles of the classical theatre.... Closer perhaps to Jones's geometric analyses of Stonehenge was the chapter that Cesariano devoted to a similar attempt to find Eurythmia by circles and triangles in Milan Cathedral. He can hardly have failed either to have seen it or to have escaped its relevance to his problem. For at Stonehenge Jones's circles and triangles made much the same empty but ingenious pattern.

(Tait 1978:157)

However, as we shall see, Jones's geometry was more than Tait's 'empty pattern'. Although the Como Vitruvius was less common than other editions in English libraries of the seventeenth century, it was not unknown and

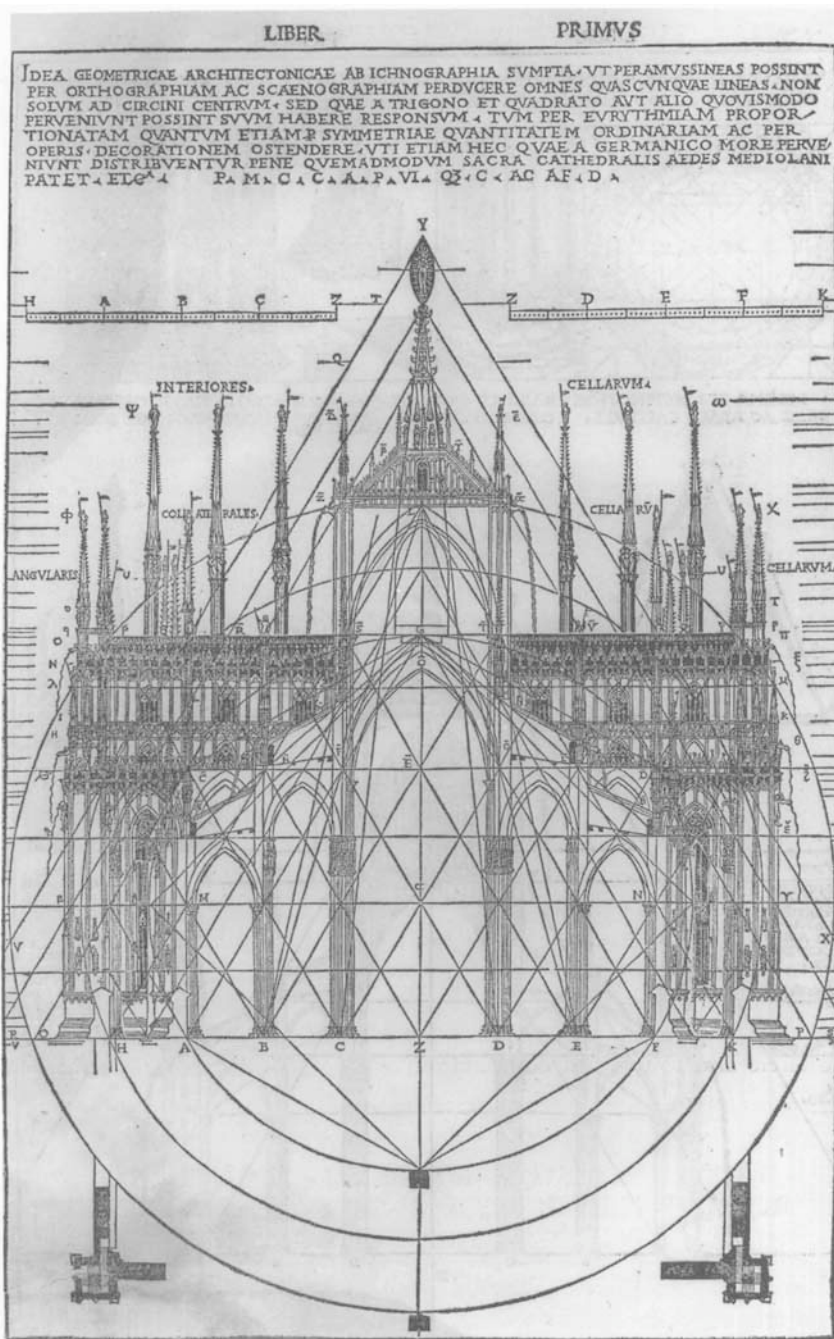


Figure 29 Proposed geometric order of Milan Cathedral from Cesare Cesariano's Vitruvius, Como (1521), Book I, Chapter 2. (Courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.)

Jones could have had access to it fairly readily.⁵⁸ A copy was to be found in the library of Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury,⁵⁹ for example. As the first to comment on Vitruvius in Italian, Cesariano's work had a widespread influence in Europe,⁶⁰ and became further known through a sub-edition by Gianbattista Caporali (published in Pesaro in 1536). Jones may have used an illustration from Cesariano in his designs for Townshend's masque *Albion's Triumph* (1632).⁶¹ Hence, as well as reflecting his study of Stonehenge, and more importantly perhaps, Jones saw the chance to apply Cesariano's triangular and circular ideal at St Paul's, transforming it from Gothic cathedral to Vitruvian *Idea* or 'arrangement' of a church in a scheme almost identical to that proposed by Cesariano for Milan.

John Webb, in his role as 'Clerk engrosser', detailed much of the cathedral work and this obviously included the new west front as the works accounts record. Webb himself defined this work: 'Mr Webbe copied all y^e designes from y^e Surveyors Invention, made all y^e traceryes in great for y^e worke, & all y^e mouldings by y^e Surveyors direction so y^t what the Surveyor invented & Mr Webbe made, y^e substitute saw putt in worke & nothing else.'⁶² The geometry examined here might explain a passing comment by Webb on this cathedral work in his *VINDICATION* (1665) of Jones's arguments as to the antiquity of Stonehenge.⁶³ In dismissing Dr Walter Charleton's criticisms of Jones's scheme as 'but one Doctor's Opinion; for neither Mr. *Camden*, nor any his so many Gentlemen, it seems, will witness for him any longer', Webb somewhat sarcastically implies that Charleton had relied on Elizabethan antiquarians, such as William Camden, who were by then long dead.⁶⁴ These 'gentlemen', Webb continues, were therefore no more familiar with Jones's triangular scheme used at Stonehenge 'than an *equilateral Triangle* in the Conformation of St *Paul's Cathedral*'.⁶⁵

The resurfacing of St Paul's was conceived by the Stuart kings as a spiritual exercise on a grand scale, much as the building of the Escorial had signified spiritual renewal under Philip II. The Spanish 'Hermetic' palace, and the biblical commentary which reflected its design, directly preceded the Stuarts' own attempt to refound the temple of Solomon in their capital. The Escorial thus provided an obvious European precedent for Jones's use of the circle and triangle in combination with Villalpando's Orders, at both Whitehall Palace and St Paul's Cathedral.

FROM MEDIEVAL MASONRY PRACTICES TO THE RENAISSANCE MICROCOSM-MACROCOSM THEORY

Inigo Jones's lifetime spanned the transition from a Gothic to a Renaissance architectural vocabulary in English building practice, a change which the act of refacing St Paul's itself dramatically expressed. To outward appearances Gothic and Renaissance iconography would seem to be opposites. However,

concealed resolutions can be detected through this emblematic, working geometry, the vitality of which spanned both traditions. Such geometry had, after all, been proposed by Cesariano whilst attempting just such a harmonising of Vitruvian principles with Gothic ornament at Milan Cathedral.

The construction of the equilateral triangle formed one of the basic propositions of Euclid, and its use in the 'conformation', as Webb put it, of cathedral proportions in plan and section had a long tradition. Jones's friend Henry Peacham in *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622) cited Dee's 'Preface' to Euclid and dedicated a chapter to the Egyptian origins of the art of geometry, subsequently referring to the importance of geometry, and of the square in particular, in the setting out of a building's ground-plot.⁶⁶ The medieval mason had frequently employed *ad quadratum* (formed by the circle and square) or *ad triangulum* (formed by the equilateral triangle) when setting out and measuring buildings. Both were established practices of which Jones must have had knowledge and in which his building workforce had been trained.⁶⁷ Indeed, Jones's Stonehenge plan embodied *ad triangulum*. In his early role as 'Surveyor' to Prince Henry, Jones would have inherited many of the methods of the medieval 'Surveyor', that is of Elizabethan builders such as Robert Adams, John Symonds, and Robert Stickells.⁶⁸ The previous chapter noted the importance of geometrical devices in ordering the Elizabethan country house and garden, domestic architecture which in the absence of public building work formed Jones's most immediate architectural inheritance. Such devices were often concealed, as Geoffrey Whitney noted in *A Choice of Emblems, and other Devises* (1586) when defining an emblem as, 'havige some wittie devise expressed with cunning woorkemanship, somethinge obscure to be perceived at the first, whereby, when with further consideration it is understood, it maie the greater delighte the behoulder'.⁶⁹ After the building of the Queen's House, Greenwich, John Chamberlain wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton, 'yt is said to be some curious device of Inigo Jones'.⁷⁰ That geometry was erased (or hidden as elsewhere in Jones's work) at St Paul's would be compatible with the secretive working traditions of the medieval masons' lodges.⁷¹

Following the work of Yates and Orrell it would seem certain that it was these traditional masons' practices which governed the setting out of the first 'Roman' buildings in London, the public theatres. Serlio had adapted *ad quadratum* to his theatre illustrations⁷² and whilst discussing the application of these in Jones's theatre designs Orrell observed that Jones employed *ad quadratum*, despite the 'gothicism of its roots and its ubiquity in medieval design'.⁷³ Geometry not only served as a functional basis for the setting out of buildings but also a symbolic purpose in relating them to the macrocosm. Yates has argued that through the influence of Dee's 'Preface' the plan of the Globe was based on Vitruvius' astrological theatre, with its plan of four triangles inscribed within a circle which could easily be set out by *ad triangulum* (Figure 30). Above the inner stage of the Elizabethan theatre a canopy was painted with images of the heavens whilst, as Chapter 2 noted,

in the Renaissance the theatre was often seen as a representation of the cosmos, a moral emblem or temple. Yates observes:

To the cosmic meaning of the ancient theatre, with its plan based on the triangulations within the zodiac, was added the religious meaning of the theatre as temple, and the related religious and cosmic meaning of the Renaissance church. The Globe Theatre was a magical theatre, a cosmic theatre, a religious theatre, an actors' theatre, designed to give fullest support to the voices and gestures of the players as they enacted the drama of the life of man within the Theatre of the World.
(Yates 1969:188–9)

Here we have an almost contemporary echo of the Escorial, with its underlying theatre geometry of magical import, and a precedent for the theatre as temple' plan of Jones's Stonehenge and west façade of St Paul's through the relation of both to a circle and triangle.

In their embodiment of *ad triangulum* and *ad quadratum*, Gothic cathedrals had frequently sought identity with biblical structures, and with the circular Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem (the Dome of the Rock), in particular.⁷⁴ Since the geometry of the first temple in Jerusalem was thought to enshrine ancient wisdom, the use of geometry by medieval masons formed an important aspect of their craft secrets and expression of their lore in its cultivation of Solomon. Joseph Rykwert has observed that Inigo Jones was

the agent through whom the old craft-mysteries were translated into the new Scamozzan and Neoplatonic terms which he shared with Wotton and with Dee's heirs. It is at this time that speculative masonry appeared in the lodges.... The monument in which some of these ideas and events were summed up was Inigo Jones' heroic refacing of old St Paul's.
(Rykwert 1980:137)

The masons' application of Euclidean geometric principles, stemming from Gothic traditions, in their carving and setting out of the Orders on façades may well have represented a practical means by which these Orders were understood as both 'translated' from and representative of the medieval Solomonian craft mysteries. Certainly the columns themselves came to symbolise Solomon's temple as conceived in the Renaissance. Whilst the triangular scheme at St Paul's embodied Renaissance Neoplatonic symbolism to the initiated, it would have been naturally understood as a medieval working method, a vital aspect of the secretive, traditional practice of the masons (as the Renaissance modular system of proportions would not have been). The notion of the Orders as Renaissance pattern book iconography⁷⁵ set out within an earlier, medieval building method is consistent with an understanding of the Orders themselves conforming to the rules of an established medieval design art,

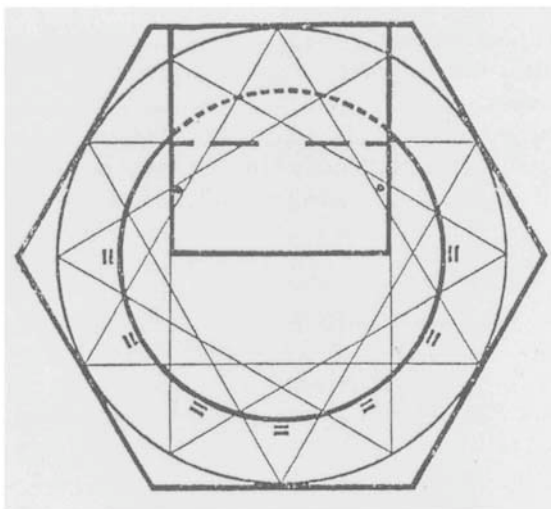


Figure 30 Suggested plan of the Globe Theatre
(after Frances Yates).

heraldry. Hence we should qualify the view that the Stuarts completely rejected Gothic traditions, as is implied by their hostility towards the pointed arch. This was reflected in 'St George's Portico', which might be viewed as a Gothic structure with superimposed Order (see Figure 6). The Orders can be understood as a progression and perfection overlaid on the heroic architecture of the Middle Ages, as signified by Jones's new cathedral stone surface itself, much as Laud accepted the shared origins of the Church of England and Church of Rome.⁷⁶ The old cathedral represented the foundations upon which the new structure was superimposed both physically and spiritually. In line with the influence of established building techniques on Brunelleschi and Alberti,⁷⁷ what emerges is a picture of Inigo Jones the medieval mason, not just the 'British Vitruvius', and here through emblematic geometry we can sense the status of Jones as a bridge between the two building traditions, medieval and Renaissance.

As Dee's 'Preface' to the English *Euclid* clearly illustrates, geometry lay at the heart of the emerging conception of the Renaissance arts in Elizabethan England. This was emphasised by Dee when placing Vitruvius in a geometric context.⁷⁸ In quoting Vitruvius when formulating an early definition of the architect's role, Dee noted that he 'may be very absolutely skillfull in Geometrie, Astronomie, Musike, and the rest of the Artes Mathematicall'.⁷⁹ Echoing this, whilst referring to the Arts Mathematical, or Design' in his *VINDICATION* (1665), Webb cited Jones as 'a great *Geometrician*'.⁸⁰ Webb would thus appear to place Jones directly in the Dee tradition. Jones's close study of geometry is attested by the books comprising his library, naturally including an (Italian)

edition of Euclid.⁸¹ Indeed, his annotations to Palladio and Serlio show his close study of Euclid;⁸² in Book I of his 1601 edition of Serlio he copied Serlio's final figure illustrating a temple door within an *ad quadratum* construction,⁸³ whilst in Book II Jones notes against a perspective construction: 'A great Errore of Serlio to make the Angles and Sides of a [h]exagon tuch ye sides of a Square' (fol.20v). Indeed his annotations elsewhere on the geometric construction of the Orders themselves⁸⁴ or in treatises on fortifications (an unacknowledged area of Jones's studies)⁸⁵ clearly demonstrate his interest in the direct application of geometry to order architecture. In the masque Jones proclaimed architecture as a means by which man could be elevated to the knowledge of Platonic forms and harmonies, realised through perfect proportions and geometry. Sketches to the side of a scene design by Jones for the temple-palace in Jonson's masque *Oberon* (1611) show his geometric construction using compass sweeps to form circles: here a pair of compasses dictates a scale (Figure 31). Indeed, the universal form signifying this Platonic perfection in masque was the circular temple, and Jones was himself specifically identified with this form in the famous engraving by Robert van Voerst for Van Dyck's *Iconographiae* (1640), in which the British architect holds a drawing of a circular temple.

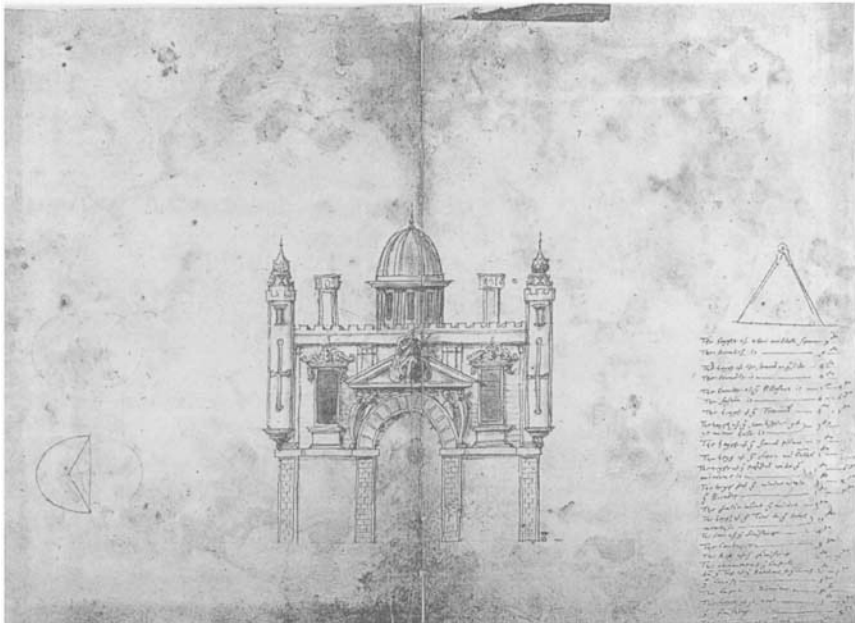


Figure 31 Drawing for *Oberon's palace* by Inigo Jones, from *Oberon, the Fairy Prince* (1611), showing geometric constructions (Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth). (Reproduced by permission of the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.)

As Jones indicates in his Vitruvius when noting 'the boddi of man well proporsioned is the patern for proportion in buildings...the round figure forms the Bodi of man',⁸⁶ one of the principal virtues of the circle was its reflection of human proportion as outlined by Vitruvius. And human proportions should, Vitruvius suggested, be embodied in temples (IV.i.1–11).⁸⁷ Geometric anthropomorphism, as an expression of the microcosm-macrocosm analogy, lay at the centre of Pythagorean and Hermetic philosophy as outlined by Agrippa and Dee. Jones studied human proportion through his figure drawings and this found clear expression in his design for the Barber Surgeons' anatomy theatre, centred as it was on the body.⁸⁸ The outstretched Vitruvian man was scaled to express Court hierarchy in Jonson's satire of Jones in the play *Tale of the Tub* (1633), in which Jones was made to exclaim: 'A Knight is sixe diameters; and a Squire/Is vive, and zomewhat more: I know't by compasse,/And skale of man' (IV, i, 43–5). With such circular anthropomorphism reflected in Jones's Court architecture, man the microcosm became linked to the macrocosm through the medium of his setting, a harmony which was proclaimed in every Stuart masque.

This anthropomorphism was equally reflected in the individual Orders, which were described by Vitruvius as the embodiment of male or female proportions. Further, as part of the Pythagorean anthropomorphism which recurs throughout the *De re aedificatoria*, Alberti defined a wall as being composed of muscles and skin (Book III, Chapter 6), with the columns as bones (Book IX, Chapter 5). Jones's annotations in his Alberti show his close study of this section, whilst he noted in his Vitruvius, 'The bones and sustaynors ar corner Pillasters/the openings or lips are y^c windowes/the complimente is betwixt the bones & the openings'.⁸⁹ Wotton described courses 'interlayed like *Bones*', and later advised his reader 'to passe a running examination over the whole *Edifice*, according to the properties of a *well Shapen Man*', which he termed an 'allegorical review'.⁹⁰ In this way the Corinthian pilasters on the west face of St Paul's might be seen as bones, with the whole surface forming a new skin (or heraldic coat). The cathedral restoration sermon of 1620 proclaimed that 'every Colledge almost hath cast his old skin with the Serpent, and gotten a new coat...So the re-building of *Pauls*', and the old cathedral body was here compared to 'a wounded, bleeding, dying Church, falling so fast to a plaine *anatomy*'.⁹¹

The Christian church was itself frequently compared to the human body, following St Paul in Corinthians (I, 12:12–29) and Colossians (1:18). The New Jerusalem described in Revelation was proportioned 'according to the measure of a man, that is, of an angel' (21:17). This anthropomorphism became implicit in church buildings, with the cruciform plan likened to the mystical body of Christ. Jones would have seen this analogy illustrated in his copy of Pietro Cataneo's *L'architettura* (Venice, 1567). The Saviour's body, the cross, and the cosmic temple were linked in medieval speculation about building, and it has been suggested that such ideas were passed on in the verbal teaching of the

medieval masonic lodges.⁹² As part of the 'Christianisation' of Vitruvius, one of Cesariano's illustrations presented Vitruvian man as a Christ-like figure with his arms outstretched. As a reflection of this tradition, the two corner foundation stones at the west end of Jones's St Paul's, in being carved with crosses, symbolised the anatomy of Christ, whilst in justifying the proposed work the 1620 cathedral restoration sermon cited 'that glorious Temple of *Salomon*, one of the goodliest limmes of that beautiful bodie'.⁹³ In proclaiming 'the bodie of the King, a building not made with hands, but shaped of flesh and bloud', the sermon made this metaphor explicit in the context of St Paul's, for, 'when my *Master* himselfe shall come, and *stretch his body upon the body*, afford his owne bodily presence, and set himselfe to the worke...marke the pillars and pinnacles, and make it his princely care'.⁹⁴ Implied in this is the concept of the mystical body of kingship, and James's role as 'royal vicar', which may have found expression in Jones's initial design for the face of St Paul's through his use of a circle as a reflection of perfect human proportion. In this spirit Jones's intended arch at Temple Bar was to have carried emblems proclaiming the king's divinity. Indeed, the tripartite *Idea* of the Stuart monarch as pagan emperor, Jewish king, and Christian prince found more visible expression at St Paul's through the Augustan, Solomonic, and Christian mythology of the Orders themselves, and in iconography such as the 'IMS' monogram, emblems which were invisibly framed, perhaps, within a circular body. Later, in the built design, the theme of royal divinity would become more explicitly represented by the Stuart statues surmounting the cathedral portico. Indeed, James's act of kneeling before the west front on royal processions proclaimed the cathedral's status as an image of the divine temple and, as such, of a higher order than the mystic body of the king himself.⁹⁵

GEOMETRY AND BRITISH ANTIQUITY RESTORED

Circles and triangles formed basic figures of Platonic cosmology, the *Timaeus* having described the structure of the elements air, fire, and water in their reliance on the equilateral triangle.⁹⁶ More particularly, it was a commonplace amongst Neoplatonists in particular to regard geometry as an aspect of ancient wisdom, with Euclid's *Elementa* seen by the likes of Dee and Peacham as a record of the secrets of Egyptian geometry. John Webb clearly interpreted the triangle as a sign of arcana. For following his reference to an equilateral triangle used in the conformation or ordering of St Paul's Cathedral, Webb made a further reference to triangles in his *HISTORICAL ESSAY* on the original language: in this, his only publication other than that on Stonehenge, Webb specifically linked interlocked triangles to hieroglyphic virtue:

aswel before the flood, as long after it, significative Characters only were in use; for without all peradventure that famous Inscription at

Persepolis in *Persia* consists of such Characters; and although it differs, its true from the received Hieroglyphical way, being composed of the form of Triangles several wayes transverted *only*. Yet we cannot but allow, in regard the people in those early days framed the Characters to their Language correspondent to the fancy of their imaginations.

(Webb 1669:149)

Later Webb added that the Chinese had held an ancient book in 'great esteem for the *Arcana* it contains', and that:

This Book seems much to confirm the opinion of those, that would have the Inscription at *Persepolis* more antient than the Flood. For, as *This* in *Persia* consists only in Triangles several wayes transversed: so *That* in *China* consists only of streight lines several wayes interrupted. It treats especially of Judicial Astrology, Politique Government, and occult Philosophy.

(Webb 1669:190)

In this, triangles are expressly interpreted by Webb through a record of 'occult Philosophy'. Mentioned twice, such geometry would seem to hold special importance for Jones's cathedral assistant as a surviving sign of lost wisdom. Indeed Webb's studies in arcana are evident throughout this work on ancient signs.

Following the performance of geometric dances in the Florentine intermezzi and as part of the supposed revival of ancient dancing in the form of the French 'ballet de cour',⁹⁷ geometric figures of magic import became the ground-plot of the English masque. Here dancers composed moving geometric hieroglyphs, separating and reuniting in imitation of the harmony of the Platonic cosmos.⁹⁸ Samuel Daniel's *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* (1604), for example, culminated in a dance of the goddesses 'consisting of divers strains framed unto motions circular, square, triangular, with other proportions exceeding rare and full of variety'.⁹⁹ The 'figure icosahedron' (line 255), defined by Plato in the *Timaeus* as the 'regular solid' for the element water, formed one of the 'mute hieroglyphs' (line 246) carried by the dancers in Jonson's masque *Blackness* (1605). Circular and triangular dances in masque were themselves used as metaphors for the harmony implicit in the theme of a British magical antiquity. The 'Knights masquers' discovered within Oberon's palace articulated the traditional royal theme of Arthurian chivalry in invisible, circular form:

then let your nimble feet
Tread subtle circles that may always meet
in point to him, and figures to express...
May without stop point out the proper heir

Designed so long to Arthur's crowns and chair.
(lines 291–8)

James's rule was itself expressed through reference to geometric perfection in Court propaganda. George Marcelline presented James as the 'Common *Father* of all his people, ordering all his affections in an equall partage, like unto the *Geometricall* point, which beholdeth all his circumference in one & the same proportion'. Following a 'credit to the *Hebrewes Cabala* Marcelline observed that 'this Harpe of MY KING is made in a triangle',¹⁰⁰ whilst on the letter 'O' in the title 'ROI' he noted,

Our King is perfectly round, seeing that his words and actions do concord, and that both to one & other he goes in full rotundity, plainnesse and sincerity...(O) is as the eie, which he lendeth to al, and over all, in imitation whereof, the *Egiptians* in their Hieroglyphicks, did represent royalty by an Eye, placed uppon the top of a Scepter.
(Marcelline 1610:86)

Figures comprising circles and triangles were commonly used to signify unity or stability in Stuart propaganda. The Paracelsian adept, Bishop Thornborough, cited the circular temple to express the concept of British unity in 1604: 'And here let us now consecrate to al eternitie the ancient name of famous great Brittain, as a Pantheon of al blessings in peace, prosperitie, and honour...round, and like to the capacite of heaven...even *perfection of beautie in Sion*'.¹⁰¹ When preaching before James in 1621 and evoking this theme of unity implicit in the image of the New Jerusalem, Laud concluded by exclaiming, 'Thus haveing made my *Text* my *Circle*, I am gone round it, and come backe to it; and must therefore end in the poynt where I began: *Pray for the peace of Jerusalem...Peace be within the walls of it, and prosperity within the Palaces*'.¹⁰² Two interlocked equilateral triangles, or Solomon's seal, represented the alchemical emblem for the union of the elements. The Stuart concept of a reunited Britain was naturally expressed through such alchemical geometric unity: Carew noted that Stuart 'chaste beams' could tame the warring elements, 'So shalt thou with thy pregnant fire/The water, earth, and ayre, inspire',¹⁰³ whilst the Stuart union of opposing religious and natural forces became a theme of later Court art in reflecting the general ambition of ecumenical Hermeticism.¹⁰⁴ In the same spirit of unity, the circle featured as an emblem of Platonic love in masques and poetry.¹⁰⁵

The triangular seal of alchemical union was implicit in Jones's Stonehenge plan, a fact perhaps reflected in his claim that, with its flame-like, pyramidal stones, the British monument was built in imitation of the elements fire and air.¹⁰⁶ Further, in formulating his interpretation of these stones, Jones makes a direct reference to Dee's 'Preface';¹⁰⁷ here he gave no warning against an author publicly attacked by Jonson as a magician. Dee's edition of Euclid was

in the library of Jones's first patron, Prince Henry, and it may have been this copy which the architect used.¹⁰⁸ Here Jones would himself have seen the Vitruvian subjects placed alongside important Neoplatonic commonplaces,¹⁰⁹ traced back by Dee to 'Moses Philosophy'. Dee's art of 'Anthropographie', or 'perfect body of MAN' (microcosmus), for example, cited Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*. As Chapter 1 noted, Dee referred readers to Chapters 27–28 of Agrippa's second book, which pictured Hermetic man encircled by the zodiac and embodying, as Agrippa's text points out, an equilateral triangle. Dee linked this to the proportions of Noah's Ark, following the human proportions attributed it in St Augustine's *De civitate Dei* (15. 26) and Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* (Book IX, Chapter 7). The Ark was the earliest of the biblical structures, prefiguring the tabernacle and, therefore, the temple of Solomon. In this way Dee's 'Preface' made reference to a Neoplatonic *Idea* of the ancient church, based on the circle and triangle of Hermetic man. Jones would also have seen Dee's sign from the *Monas hieroglyphica* placed prominently within the opening letter 'D' of the 'Preface'. Under 'Architecture' Dee cited the ancient theatre, his only direct reference to an antique building and evidence for Yates's argument that the plan of the Globe Theatre was influenced by Dee's 'Preface'. Yates noted that as a practical manual this English translation of Euclid was specifically aimed at guilds of masons and joiners.¹¹⁰ Jones is thought to have been apprenticed to a joiner in his younger years, working in St Paul's churchyard,¹¹¹ and it was, of course, these craftsmen who later worked under the architect in refacing the cathedral.

Jones refers to Dee's work whilst responding to theories relating to the method of construction employed at Stonehenge: '*They Wonder also...by what Means they* (that is, such huge stones) *were set up*. What may be effected by that *Mechanicall Art*, which *Dee* in his *Mathematicall Preface to Euclide*, calls *Menadry, or Art of ordering Engines for raising weights*.'¹¹² This obviously forms a precedent for Webb's reference to 'Menadry', quoted in the previous chapter. It is followed by a passage which must be dated post 1649:¹¹³

Had I not been thought worthy (by him who then commanded) to have been sole *Architect* thereof, I would have made some mention of the great stones used in the work, and *Portico* at the West end of *S. Pauls Church London*, but I forebear; though in greatnesse they were equall to most in this *Antiquity*, and raised to a far greater height than any there.

(Jones 1655:35)

Here, in proud but modest tones, Jones (or Webb writing for him, given Webb's subsequent similar association) makes a direct comparison between work on the west front of St Paul's and Stonehenge. Further, the building of both monuments was explained with reference to Dee's work.¹¹⁴ The very fact of this comparison surely also illustrates the importance of Stonehenge

to the Jones-Webb partnership in their work at St Paul's, and to their built work in general. It has been seen that mechanics was itself a Neoplatonic art sanctioned by biblical precedent, with Bolton having traced such British 'Arch-mysteries' back to the building of Solomon's temple, whilst St Paul was presented as initiated in the 'mysterie in the Mechanicks'.

In Chapter 2 it was pointed out that, in being 'restored' to a circular Romano-British Tuscan temple, Jones's Stonehenge should be understood as akin to the Tuscan rotunda on the Banqueting House ceiling which enclosed the heroes of Albion in the form of Brute and Constantine. Having rejected traditional opinion as to Stonehenge's origins in favour of Romano-British architects, in the middle of his study Jones presented a geometric overlay or scheme of circle and triangles by which, as his title promises, Stonehenge was supposedly 'restored' to its antique purity (see Figure 10). In this emblematic state, Jones's stones on Salisbury Plain were elevated to the status of an *Idea* building.¹¹⁵ In the geometry of Stonehenge Jones saw a shining example of antiquity, for 'betwixt this Island of great *Britain*, and *Rome* it self, there's no one structure to be seen, wherein more clearly shines those harmoniacall proportions, of which only the best times could vaunt, than in this of *Stoneheng*'.¹¹⁶ As Chapter 2 concluded, in thus making Stonehenge Romano-British, at a general level Jones found a national past for his outwardly Italian architecture. More specifically, surely these 'harmoniacall proportions' to which Jones makes Stonehenge comply, were proportions to which he would equally have wanted his own 'Romano-British' work to conform? For clearly the 'best times' were also intended to characterise his own age. Jones continues: 'Besides, the *Order* is not only *Roman*, but the *Scheam* also (consisting of four equilaterall triangles, inscribed within the circumference of a Circle) by which this Work *Stoneheng* formed, was an *Architectonicall Scheam* used by the *Romans*'.¹¹⁷ Here Jones alludes to the Roman theatre, the plan of which was identical to Jones's universal, Architectonicall Scheam'. As Jones was well aware, Aristotle had used the term 'Architettonica' (*Nicomachean Ethics*, I.i, VI.vii) to denote the ultimate end to which all knowledge was directed and subordinated, that is virtuous action.¹¹⁸

Hence at Stonehenge Jones proposed an invisible order represented by this Platonic scheme, which thereby formed the geometry, or ground-plot, of the antique 'Albion and Jerusalem' which the monument symbolised. Any use of this *Idea*, or geometric scheme, elsewhere can be seen to have married, as it were, Jones's work to the British monument. Such an understanding serves as confirmation of the central status of Jones's Stonehenge study, positioned as it was (if the reported date of 1620 for the original survey is to be believed)¹¹⁹ at the beginning of Jones's actual Court building work which started with the Banqueting House of 1620. *STONEHENG Restored* speaks of the power not so much of the Orders themselves, but rather of geometry, and of one scheme in particular, to order and thereby 'restore' a building for Jones. Of course Jones's other great 'restoration' of an

existing building was of 'that antient and venerable Church', as Evelyn's diary described St Paul's.¹²⁰ The Tuscan Order used on the resurfaced walls of the cathedral nave can be seen as a clue to a possible relationship with Stonehenge. Indeed if Stonehenge was to be Romano-British, then so was the original foundation of St Paul's, for during the course of his Stonehenge argument Jones reports that the remains of an antique temple were buried under the cathedral, yet that there might be a *Roman Temple* in old time standing in that place, I will not deny, the numbers of Oxe-heads digged up and anciently sacrificed there'.¹²¹ Stonehenge itself obviously represented Jones's *Idea* of just such a Romano-British temple, the last remaining on these shores (at which Jones had also dug up 'the heads of such beasts').¹²² Thus, through applying the geometry of Stonehenge to St Paul's, Jones merely refounded what he understood to have once stood on the site itself, thereby 'restoring' the cathedral to its Romano-British original.

In the second half of *STONE-HENG Restored* we glimpse something of Jones's emblematic design process itself. Jones echoed much that was standard Hermetic teaching, observing that it was 'the *Aegyptian Antiquities*, or those *Eastern Nations* from whom the *Græcians* deduced their learning'.¹²³ Both Selden and Harvey had persuaded Webb to publish *STONE-HENG Restored*,¹²⁴ and this joint interest of an antiquarian and Paracelsian is perhaps indicative of the terms in which Jones's geometric scheme should be understood. Indeed the influence of Hermetic and Neoplatonic philosophy on both Jones's Stonehenge and cathedral designs provides a context for linking the two, from Stonehenge as *Idea* to St Paul's as material form. In recording Jones's own understanding of the Platonic norms of circle and triangle, *STONE-HENG Restored* suggests an interpretation of the unexecuted façade for St Paul's and plan of Whitehall Palace. For with reference to Valeriano's Neoplatonic emblematics, Jones noted, 'Not only...the *circular form*, but the *meer segment of a circle amongst the Egyptians was an Hieroglyphick of Coelus*'.¹²⁵ He interpreted the circle as indicative of heaven itself, for the ancients, '*especially delighted with making of [temples]...round, as representing thereby the Form or Figure of Coelum, Heaven*'.¹²⁶ It is thus within the circumference of this circular 'heaven' that Jones's new cathedral face and palace plan is conceived. Indeed, Wotton noted: 'Now the exact *Circle* is in truth a Figure, which for our purpose hath...Finesse for beautie and delight, as imitating the celestiall *Orbes*, and the universall *Forme*'.¹²⁷ In Jones's copy of Plutarch's *Opusculi Morali, di Plutarco Cheronese* the architect noted 'Astrologi depends on Geomitria',¹²⁸ whilst in echoing Vitruvius' astrological interpretation of the ancient theatre plan, Jones further observed that at Stonehenge the triangle and circle constituted the geometric scheme by which the magi expressed astrological divinity,

four equilaterall *Triangles*, inscribed in a *Circle*, such as the *Astrologers* use in describing the twelve *celestiall* signs in musicall proportions.

According to that of *Vitruvius*... 'by which figures also, Astrologers from the musicall harmony of the stars ground their reasonings, as concerning the description of the twelve celestiaall signs'... *The Magi adde that a triangle of equall sides is a symbole of Divinity, or sign of celestiaall matters.*

(Jones 1655:106)

Jones's whole 'Romano-British' argument thus finds its basis in astrology, with the ruins physically aligned with the compass points. He adds that

The Astrologers make use of three sorts of figures; the Triangle, Tetragon, and Hexagon. Furthermore, the three entrances leading into the Temple from the Plain, were comparted by an equilaterall *triangle*; which was the figure whereby the Ancients expressed what appertained to *Heaven*, and divine mysteries also.

(Jones 1655:106)

It was a triangle which determined the all-important width-to-height proportion of the west front of St Paul's and the position of the chancel at Whitehall. Jones evidently found it natural that an architect should base his design for temples on geometry made sacred through links with astrology,

Now this *Antiquity* consisting of severall stones, orderly disposed into one entire work, in imitation, as it were, of those severall stars which appearing to us in the Heavens in form of a circle, are called the *celestiaall Crown*; and wholly designed by those *Scheams* wherewith *Astrologers* use to describe *celestiaall* bodies, which figures, usually applied by them to particular accidents onely, being all joyntly made use of by the *Archibect* for conformation of this sacred structure, it is not improbable *Stoneheng* was so composed, because dedicated to *Coelum*.

(Jones 1655:106)

Here, akin to contemporary artificial memory systems, Jones's temple plan was an embodiment of planetary order and the twelve houses of the zodiac.

With a final jump of imagination in his design process, to Jones Stonehenge became an analogue of Solomon's temple. The scheme of triangles and circle was awarded a biblical virtue by association with cherubim as emblems of Solomon's temple,

Yea further, (if lawfull to compare an idolatrous place with so divine a work) was not the *Temple* at *Hierusalem* adorned with the figures of *Cherubims*, that thereby the Nations of the Earth might know it was the habitation of the living God? and, why not in like manner this

Temple composed by *Astrological* figures, that after Ages might apprehend, it was anciently consecrated to *Coehus* or *Coelum* Heaven?
(Jones 1655:107)

Since Jones here presented cherubim as emblems of Solomon, their appearance on the unexecuted façade design of St Paul's must also have served to signify the temple. And finally, in this passage prescribing the meaning of Stonehenge there might equally be seen summarised the *Idea* of Jones's west front, cherubim and palm in association with 'astrological figures' of circle and triangle, all as emblems of Solomon. This façade was, after all, designed for the British Solomon's New Jerusalem and it was James himself who commissioned Jones's 'survey' of Stonehenge in 1620 and his survey of the cathedral in the same year, of which the undated cathedral drawing examined here may well have formed a part. Indeed, based on its geometric fusion of the virtues of Villalpando's Jerusalem and Palladio's Rome, the *Idea* of Stonehenge can be seen to have prefigured the whole Stuart city. As with the masque, Jones's otherwise unique Stonehenge study bears certain similarities to the Renaissance memory theatre tradition, with its Solomonic and zodiacal virtue embodied by an emblematic theatre geometry echoing Camillo's mnemonic 'House of Wisdom'. As a final memorial or paper monument to Jones, Webb's publication of this study preserved an invisible pattern in Jones's mind, the origin from which all else might be traced.

It was pointed out in Chapter 2 that in the course of Jones's discussion of Stonehenge he rejected a Druid origin in favour of Romano-British builders. Curiously enough, when arguing that the Druids were in fact the builders of Stonehenge, William Stukeley claimed in 1740 that Jones's Barber Surgeons' Hall had been based on an ancient oval Druid monument at Eglwys Glominog, Merionethshire.¹²⁹ If Jones could copy an ancient monument accurately once, he could surely do it twice. Druids were, after all, if not the builders of Stonehenge then at least priests initiated in the ancient theology, according to Jones. Given the cult of Egypt implicit in Hermetic mythology, it is perhaps significant that Stukeley also reported that, 'the side of the greater pyramid at base, is 693 *English* feet; which amounts exactly to 400 *Egyptian* cubits...I have taken notice that *Inigo Jones* observ'd the like dimensions, in laying out the plot of *Lincoln's-Inn-fields*'.¹³⁰ Certainly both these reports indicate unusual antique sources for Jones's work, sources quite distinct from Palladio but comprehensible within the context of Neoplatonism.¹³¹

Lost antique temples and theatres, magical music and memory, anatomy and masonry, Pythagorean numerology, sacred geometry, and the architectural Orders were all thematic norms of attempts in the Renaissance to restore Solomon's temple. These themes were employed in the design of the Escorial in Spain before the Stuart era and indeed at the Temple of Lyon in France at its close.¹³² In England they formed part of a wider ambition to restore Albion to its rightful place as Jerusalem and discover the ancient signs of

this promised land, identified as the language of God or Cabala. Hence for Marcelline, 'God himselfe Husbanded the Garden of that Country' and, foreshadowing dedications by Bacon and Fludd, the philosopher-king James was hailed as the 'second Hermes'. Through his reference to Dee's work, Jones employed an aspect of Cabala in his resurfacing of St Paul's Cathedral. This was 'restored' at the centre of the magic Albion, the emblematic virtues of which Jones had conjured in masque and supposedly discovered on Salisbury Plain. Whilst Stonehenge's triangles and circle formed a common Stuart emblem expressing British magic, more specifically the shadow of Stonehenge over St Paul's and Whitehall may be detected through the use of this geometry in these designs. This is evidenced by a cross on the unexecuted design for the cathedral face, a sign employed elsewhere by Jones as an annotation for centre, and by a reference to a triangle at St Paul's made by Webb when justifying Stonehenge's Romano-British antiquity. In the case of both Cesariano's drawings of Milan Cathedral and Jones's design for St Paul's, the use of such emblematic geometry also illustrates the continuity between so-called Gothic and Renaissance working practices and mythology.

VI

*'The lofty tunes of the Diapenthes, Diatessarons, and Diapasons
of our Royall Harpe'*

MUSICAL HARMONY AND PYTHAGOREAN PALACES

STUART COURT ART AND MUSICAL HARMONY

Whilst the study of Plato and aspects of Platonic numerology reflected in such works as St Augustine's *De Musica* had been common enough in medieval Europe, Renaissance Neoplatonism in its various forms was consistent in spreading the conception that the harmonic structure of the cosmos and man's ability to tune himself to it through art depended on number. Solomon's comment that God had 'ordered all things by measure, number and weight' (Wisdom 11:12) was often quoted in defence of this view. Specific numbers in themselves defined qualities, three the Trinity, four the elements, seven the planets, twelve the heavenly temples or signs of the zodiac, and so on. Dee's 'Preface' makes clear that all the Vitruvian subjects, from mechanics, music, and perspective through to the queen of the arts, architecture itself, were dependent on number, being fundamentally mathematical arts expressive of nature.¹ In translating part of the eleventh mathematical conclusion of Pico's *Conclusiones*, Dee notes at the outset that by the property of numbers 'we may take view of all creatures distinct vertues, natures, properties, and *Formes*'.² As this implied, for the Neoplatonist number represented the means by which the human mind could ascend the triple hierarchy from the elemental to the angelic realm of Platonic *Ideas*. Hence according to Dee:

Thus, can the Mathematicall minde, deale Speculatiuely in his own Arte: and by good meanes, Mount aboue the cloudes and sterres: And thirdly, he can, by order, Descend, to frame naturall thinges, to wonderfull uses: and when he list, retire home into his owne Centre: and there, prepare more Meanes, to Ascend or Descend by: and, all, to the glory of God, and our honest delectation in earth.

(Dee 1570: ciiij)

Even what Dee defined as ‘absolute Theology’, ‘the atteyning of knowledge incomparable, and Heavenly Wisedome’³ was dependent on number. In the elemental world this was reflected by his study of mechanics and the practical arts recorded in the ‘Preface’ itself. In the celestial world Dee’s study of number related to astrology and alchemy, and found expression in his *Monas hieroglyphica* which represented the link between the elemental and celestial hierarchy, whilst in the supercelestial world he believed that through numerical and alphabetical combinations he had found the secret of conjuration and the original language for communicating with angels.⁴ Such pretensions obviously foreshadowed the apparent powers of the masque to evoke the heavenly realm. In Jonson’s *Hymenaei, the Masque of Union* (1605) celebrating the marriage of the Earl of Essex in 1606, the figure of ‘Reason’ descended from the top of a globe, ‘her garments blue, and semined with stars, girded unto her with a white bend filled with arithmetical figures’ (lines 121–3). As Jonson’s marginal note makes clear,⁵ this alluded ‘to that opinion of Pythagoras; who held, all reason, all knowledge, all discourse of the soul to be meer number’.⁶ Number mysticism thus came to be pictured in masque as the means by which the macrocosm was united to the microcosm, an alchemical commonplace reflected, for example, in such medical works as Timothy Willis’s *The Search of Causes* (1616).⁷

Of all the arts, music was the most perfect reflection of the numerical harmony of the cosmos. The frontispiece to Dee’s ‘Preface’ pictured the figure of Arithmetica opposite that of Musica, presided over by the central figure of Mercury. In thus defining music as a numerical art, Dee noted that ‘*Astronomie* and *Musike* are Sisters, saith *Plato*’,⁸ and it was through this relationship that music was thought to possess its talismanic power. According to Ficino, musical harmony was the most powerful conveyor of celestial *spiritus* since the disembodied mathematical proportions from which the sounds were composed were more pure than those in corporeal forms. The harmoniously ordered forms were in motion, as were actual celestial influences, and they communicated that patterned movement, through the *spiritus*, to the soul.⁹ In the *Tempest* Prospero requires ‘Some heavenly music.../To work mine end upon their senses’ (V, i, 52–3), after which music sounds on the stage itself. In the famous scene from the *Merchant of Venice* (first printed in 1600), Lorenzo describes this cosmic harmony to Shylock’s daughter Jessica:

Look how the floor of heaven
Is thick inlaid with patens of bright gold
There’s not the smallest orb which thou behold’st
But in his motion like an angel sings,
Still choiring to the young-eyed cherubins.
Such harmony is in immortal souls.

Musicians enter and Lorenzo urges them to play for Jessica, 'And draw her home with music'. Here the magical power of earthly music as an echo of celestial harmony is outlined, for,

a wild and wanton herd...
 If they but hear perchance a trumpet sound,
 Or any air of music touch their ears,
 You shall perceive them make a mutual stand,
 Their savage eyes turned to a modest gaze
 By the sweet power of music...
 The man that hath no music in himself,
 Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds,
 Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils.
(V, i, 58–85)

In this spirit the music of Stuart masque and that emanating from mechanical devices in Court gardens was perceived as incantatory, drawing down favourable influences from the stars onto the Court through its imitation of the harmony of the spheres. Indeed, the idea that the earthly harmony of Stuart rule was itself a terrestrial manifestation of the harmony of the spheres became a thematic norm of masque. In Townshend's *Tempe Restored* (1632), for example, the figure of the 'highest sphere' descended to the stage and, addressing the queen, observed: 'When Divine Beauty will vouchsafe to stoop/ And move to earth, 'tis fit the heavenly spheres/Should be her music, and the starry troupe/Shine round about her like the crown she wears' (lines 218–21).

Natural harmony was implicit in the Elizabethan conception of the Mercurian monarch, since harmony was naturally identified as one of the many virtues of Mercury,¹⁰ and the music of the Mercurian king's peace and policy became a common metaphor in Stuart propaganda. In reflecting the musical harmony of the heavens through his wise rule, James was inevitably cast as a musician, and was thus identified as Pan, for example, in Jonson's masque *Pan's Anniversary* (1620). The legends of the magical harps of David and Amphion and the songs of Solomon were cultivated as precedents for such royal harmony,¹¹ whilst the harp of Ireland was itself introduced by James as a charge in the royal heraldry of the reunited 'Great Britain'. The use of the harp as a Stuart symbol of harmony was reinforced in particular by the legend recorded in Samuel (16:14–23) that David exorcised the evil spirit possessing Saul through the music of the harp. This and other legends of musical magic were commonplaces of Hermetic lore, and had been developed at some length by Agrippa. This formed part of Dee's discussion of music, noting that 'we finde in Recorde, that *Terpander, Arion, Ismenias, Orpheus, Amphion, David, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Asclepiades* and *Timotheus*, by *Harmonicall* Consonacy, have done, and brought to pas, thinges, more then mervailous, to here of';¹² having consulted 'the judgement

and saying of the *Cabalists*', Marcelline placed James in the context of this mythology,

Behold, how like another *Orpheus*, *Amphion*, and *Arion*, he draweth to the true knowledge of God, very savage Beasts, Forrests, Trees, and Stones, by the sweet Harmony of his Harp...made in a triangle, having ten strings, which being touched above, doe resound beneath, and deliver such an acceptable mellody, as it pierceth all the Celestiall Spheares... Such are the accents of this mysticall simphony, and the lofty tunes of the *Diapenthes*, *Diatessarons*, and *Diapasons* of our *Royall Harpe*.

(Marcelline 1610:35–7)

According to Marcelline, this royal power was made manifest in particular by music's 'well tempered proportions'. This was echoed by the Paracelsian Bishop Thornborough who, in warning against the disunity of 'Great Britain' apparent in 1641 on the eve of Civil War, noted that 'a common Weale may fitly be resembled to muscicall instruments; which however consisting of the multitude of strings, yet the harmony is in the unity of proportion with agreeable consent of distinct sounds'.¹³ Within this 'excellent muscicall concord of a well ordered kingdome', in Thornborough's view, the Stuart monarchy distributed its favour 'equally, and graciously among all, by Geometricall proportion'.¹⁴

Following the articulation of this theme of royal musical 'proportion' in Court mythology, Platonic harmony and, by implication, its talismanic power might be seen to have found further expression in the proportions of Jones's Vitruvian architecture forming the backdrops in masques and indeed in actual building projects, as evidenced by propaganda surrounding their construction.¹⁵ For with the text supplied by James, the theme of musical magic itself echoed in the sermon delivered by Bishop John King in 1620 on the subject of cathedral restoration, since here 'the tongue of a *King*, like the harpe of *Amphion*...[will] draw stones to the building'.¹⁶ Later Edmund Waller, when commenting on a partially 'restored' cathedral, made the Stuart kings 'antique minstrels', with 'Cities their lutes, and subjects' hearts their strings', whilst Charles '...like *Amphion*, makes those quarries leap/Into fair figures, from a confused heap;/For in his art of regiment is found/A pow'r like that of harmony in sound'.¹⁷ Solomon's musical magic equally featured in a contemporary 'dream' or 'vision' for St Paul's, for as part of his series of appeals for cathedral repair, Henry Farley in *The Complaint of Paule's* of 1616 allowed the cathedral itself the gift of speech:

thou send'st a second *Salomon*...
His song of songs most sure shall be,
 That shall set forth *His Kingly* love to me,
His chiefe delight is all in *Trinitie*,

Of them to make a perfect *Unitie*...
 For he that in his breast doth weare that *Sheild*
 (As doth this *David*) needs not feare the field.
 (Farley 1616:27, 41)

Here Farley's cathedral would seem to urge the need to 'weare that Sheild', the emblem of Solomon formed from equilateral triangles, which in themselves had musical properties according to Vitruvius, as Jones made clear in explaining his geometric plan at Stonehenge. As authors of the early masque productions, both Jones and Jonson were obviously well aware of the magical virtues of music. In James Shirley's play *Love's Crueltie* (1631) a tribute was paid to Jonson when Hippolito declares 'a Maske is prepared, and Musicke to charme *Orpheus* himselfe into a stone, numbers presented to your eare that shall speake the soule of the immortall English *Jonson* (II, ii, 17–19). In his 1614 Italian translation of Plutarch's *Opusculi Morali, di Plutarco Cheronese*, Jones's annotations¹⁸ show that he paid close attention to the essays *Della creatione dell'anima descritta nel Timeo di Platone* and *Della musica* in which the theory of the magical effect of ancient music on the soul is discussed with reference to Pythagoras and Plato. In his Italian translation of Plato's *Republic* Jones noted 'the end of Musik love of y^e beutifull or fairer'.¹⁹ This interest in musical harmony is equally evident in his Vitruvius, in which Jones echoed Dee's observations when noting against Daniel Barbara's commentary that 'in musicke the [re] must be a proporsionall distance betwene the low and heeygt', 'The same simpathy is in the Staeres', 'the ruels of arethmaticke shad unite musicke with astrologiy'.²⁰ The theme of musical magic evident in Court mythology and music's relationship to architecture as studied by Jones found expression through the numerical ratios which proportioned Jones's designs, in their reflection of celestial harmony.

THE STUART 'PYTHAGOREAN PALACE' AT WHITEHALL

Few of Jones's many architectural designs for the Stuart capital were realised. What follows is an analysis of one that was, the Banqueting House which stands to this day in Whitehall, in an attempt to interpret the meaning or programme behind its façade. This is the first and only surviving example of Jones's city architecture to be built with a façade of superimposed Orders forming pilasters. In order to make the analysis, we must start with the building's internal form, which is a double cube (55 feet by 55 feet by 110 feet). The cube was a fundamental form in Platonic cosmology. Following his notes on musical harmony, Jones observed in his Vitruvius that 'Pithagoras his followers made their precepts with cubik reason'.²¹ Pythagoras had considered the cube to be the source of all number and form since its root is one. In Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*, which, it was noted, Jones used when composing his Stonehenge plan, the cube formed a hieroglyph of the 'supremum numen', whilst in the Hermetic frescos within the Escorial, God the Father and Son are shown with a

cube at their feet. Ficino claimed that the cube (or hexahedron) was the most beautiful form for architects, based on its stability in Platonic cosmology derived from its representation of the earth as discussed in the *Timaeus*.²² Hence with the cube as the basis of Platonic order, this represents the most likely source for Jones's choice of the double cubic form for his Banqueting House, which can thus be seen to have been designed as a model of the cosmology celebrated by the masques performed within its walls. Indeed in a drawing by Jones from one of these masques a deity rests her foot on a cube.²³ In his editions of Serlio, Jones would have seen various examples of the use of the cube in architecture.²⁴ Jones in fact used cubes or their multiples throughout his work,²⁵ notable examples including the hall of the Queen's House, the Prince's Lodging at Newmarket, St James's Chapel, the new chapel at Somerset House, and two rooms at Wilton House (c. 1650, probably not by Jones himself but by Webb).

In Jones's unexecuted design of St Paul's west front the perimeter can be encompassed by a circle, understood as a plainer representation of the heavenly sphere when placed alongside the earthly double-cube interior of the Banqueting House. When put together, in their embodiment of pure forms both designs reflect simultaneously not only the Platonic cosmos, but the heavenly temple and antique perfection, for the Holy of Holies, the sanctuary housing the Ark of the Covenant, was described as a perfect cube (I Kings 6:20), as was the celestial New Jerusalem (Revelation 21:16), whilst the Pantheon with its spherical interior was seen as an exemplar of antique architecture through its representation of heaven. When comparing the Pantheon to Stonehenge, Jones noted that the Roman monument was '*called the Pantheon, because by the form of that vault wherewith covered, it represented the concave of Heaven, or...the figure of the world; for the world being mans house, the firmament is as the vaulted roof thereof*'.²⁶ In stressing the primacy of Euclidean geometry, Dee's 'Preface' noted under 'Architecture': 'And we may prescribe in mind and imagination the whole forms all material stuffe being secluded.' In this spirit pure forms, the circle and the square, would seem to be the basis of each of Jones's designs which the Orders structure or compartition.²⁷ Through this compartitioning, the harmonic relationships of the individual elements composed whole figures which in turn had their own Vitruvian astrological and musical virtues. Accordingly, in the illustrations of the square and circle framing the Vitruvian man, human proportions can be seen as formed by, rather than forming, the perfect geometry of circle and square. This reading is echoed in Jones's observation in his Vitruvius quoted in Chapter 5 that the circle 'forms the Bodi of man', and his note that 'every part must answer in a convenient proportion to [t]he whole'.²⁸ The conception of the Orders as clothing for an underlying body was reflected in Jones's note elsewhere that 'a hoole figure' was made by 'the partes of the boddy of man as Eyes noses mouthes Eares', and that these 'cloath yt and consequently a hoole Story wth all y^e ornamentes'.²⁹ The Pantheon's perfect form clearly dictates the compartitioning of the Orders internally, Jones himself noting in his 1601

edition of Serlio that: 'the members answear to ye boddye', 'the rownd the perfoytest forme'.³⁰

As the most important and first Court ceremonial room to be designed or compartmented by the Orders, the walls of the Banqueting House were not merely a neutral framework but, like the cube which they form, were intended as a permanent reflection of Platonic virtue celebrated by the transitory masques themselves, as indeed Rubens's painted ceiling would subsequently make clear. It follows that the double-cube room should be understood as the perfect body which the exterior equally clothes or reflects. This stresses the primacy of the double cube, as the objective behind the compartmenting of the Orders on the façade. An important aspect of Jones's external expression of the double-cube hall has in fact been lost, for originally the form of this room was made more immediately apparent through his use of three different coloured limestones for the façade. The basement below the hall was in Oxfordshire stone, the body in Northamptonshire stone (reflecting the cubic hall behind), whilst the balustrade and indeed the Orders were in Portland stone (Figure 32). An anatomical character was thus achieved, the Portland stone Orders standing out as 'bones' against the darker Northamptonshire stone on the face itself, before decay necessitated the gradual refacing of the entire façade in the Portland stone we see today.³¹ However, the interior Ionic Order below the gallery and Corinthian Order above (see Figure 1) is still reflected on the exterior by an Ionic and Composite storey, the latter Order ornamented with a fascia of draped female masks between swags of fruit which match those inside. The external entablatures also represent a translation of those inside, with the cymatium to the first-storey cornice providing a datum for both the internal pedestals and outer bases.³² Below, the external rustication directly reflected the original grotto basement inside. Indeed, horizontally the external Orders are directly set out by, and thus reflect, the internal column centre lines which compartment the length of the hall and thereby that of the double cube (a relationship which can be seen indicated by dotted lines on Webb's original plan).³³ This cubic *Idea* found further expression on the façade through the numerical relationship of the elements.

Despite Jones's importance in English architectural history, little consideration has been given to the numerical ratios governing the setting out of the Orders in his designs, although their proportions clearly show that such ratios were used.³⁴ Indeed Jones's very uniqueness lies in this apparently systematic use of proportion, not in the mere application of the Orders in isolation which had been relatively common in Elizabethan architecture. The idea that specific perfect numbers could proportion architecture to reflect the structure of the three Platonic worlds had found earlier expression in Elizabethan poetry, however. For the Castle of Alma in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* was proportioned in this way:

The frame thereof seemd partly circulare,
And part triangulare, O worke divine;

Those two the first and last proportions are,
 The one imperfect, mortall, foeminine;
 Th' other immortall, perfect, masculine,
 And twixt them both a quadrate was the base,
 Proportioned equally by seven and nine,
 Nine was the circle set in heavens place,
 All which compacted made a goodly diapase.
 (II, ix, 22)

Here in echoing the harmony implicit in the body of Hermaphrodite, the square, or 'quadrate', can be interpreted as the world of the four elements, the number seven the celestial world of the seven planets, and the nine and circle the angelic hierarchies governing the cosmos and the soul of man.³⁵ Indeed, the internal length of the Banqueting House (at 110 feet) is itself a multiple of Plato's perfect number ten. Jones himself noted in his *Vitruvius* against the Roman author's description of the relationship between the body and Platonic-Pythagorean numbers (III.i.5–9), 'What a perfect thing is/ Plato afirms tenn to be a perfect number'.³⁶ The frequency with which Jones designed rooms based on multiples of 10 feet testifies to the numbers significance to him. Further, in embodying ratios of specific numbers based on the column module as a unit, measured from the bottom of the column shaft following Roman practice recorded by Vitruvius (I.ii.4; III.iii.7; IV.i.1/8; V.ix.3), columns and their spacing (called intercolumniation) were considered by Renaissance theorists to reflect the proportions of the human body (and that of the royal patron in particular). Systems of proportion could be described as a building's anatomy, a means by which Renaissance architecture was thought to harmonise with, and become the mediator between, man the microcosm and the macrocosm.³⁷ The proportioning of columns using their module may well have been widely understood by artificers in Stuart England since, with reference to Vitruvius, Wotton noted on the Tuscan Order:

The length thereof shall be six *Diameters*, of the grossest of the Pillar below. Of all proportions, in truth, the most naturall; For our Author tells us, *lib.3.cap.1.* that the foote of a man is the fixt part of his bodie in ordinary measure, and *Man* himselfe, according to the saying of *Protagoras*...[is] as it were the *Prototype* of all exact *Symmetrie*.... The distance or *Intercolumniation* (which word Artificers doe usually borrow) may bee neere foure of his owne *Diameters*.
 (Wotton 1624:33–4)

Through the use of such proportions Jones's buildings might be described as 'frozen music', and perhaps here he comes closest to Palladio in reflecting the tradition of the Italian 'Pythagorean Palace'.³⁸

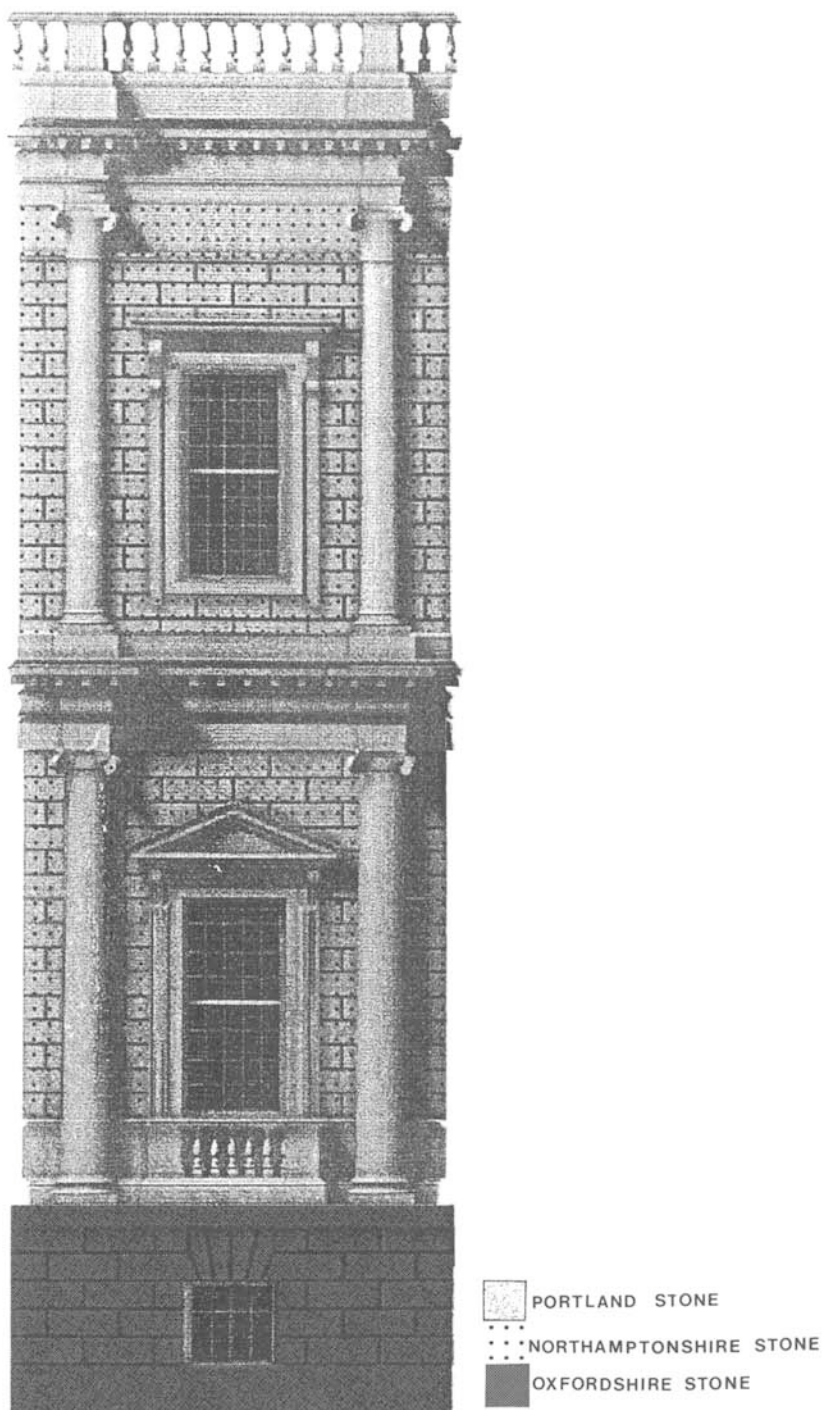


Figure 32 Bay of the Banqueting House, Whitehall, showing original stone colours.

In both its plan and section the Banqueting House obviously primarily embodies the proportion 1:2. In Pythagorean musical harmonics this ratio represented the consonant tone 'Diapason', from which the harmonies progressed to 'Sesquialtera' 2:3, 'Sesquitertia' 3:4, and 'Tonus' 8:9. In elaborating on Vitruvius' description of perfect numbers, Alberti noted in the fifth chapter of book nine of the *De re aedificatoria* that:

the lower-pitched a sound, the longer the string that emits it; the higher-pitched, the shorter the string. From the different contrasts between these sounds arise the varying harmonies which the ancients have classified into set numbers corresponding to the relationships between the consonant strings.

(Alberti 1988:305)

Wotton pointed out Alberti's reliance in this explanation on 'the Schoole of *Pythagoras*', and quoted their maxim that the '*Images* of all things are latent in *Numbers*'.³⁹ Wotton paraphrased Alberti's chapter on Pythagorean numerology when discussing door and window openings, since Alberti 'doth determine the comeliest Proportion, betweene breadths and heights'. Here Wotton alluded to the concept of architecture as 'frozen music' in explaining how to reduce

Symmetrie to *Symphonie*, and the *harmonie* of *Sounde*, to a kinde of *harmonie* in *Sight*, after this manner: The two principall *Consonances*, that most ravish the Eare, are by consent of all Nature, *the fift*, and the *Octave*; whereof the first riseth radically, from the proportion, betweene *two* and *three*. The other from the double *Intervalle*, betweene *One* and *Two*, or betweene *Two* and *Four*e &c. Now if we shall transport these proportions, from Audible to visible *Objects*; and apply them as they shall fall fittest (the nature of the Place considered) Namely in some *Windowes*, and *Doores*, the *Symmetrie* of *Two* to *Three*, in their Breadth and Length; In others the double as aforesaid; There will indubitably result from either, a gracefull and *harmonious* contentment, to the Eye.

Wotton made it clear that it was in this judgement of harmony that the architect was distinguished from the mere artisan:

Which speculation though it may appeare unto vulgar *Artizans*, perhaps too subtile, and too sublime, yet wee must remember, that *Vitruvius* himselfe doth determine many things in his profession; by *Musicall* grounds, and much commendeth in an *Architect*, a *Philosophical* Spirit; that is, he would have him (as I conceive it) to be no superficiall, and floating *Artificer*; but a *Diver* into *Causes*, and into the *Mysteries* of *Proportion*.

(Wotton 1624:53–5)

At the end of his treatise, Wotton alluded to the talismanic power of harmonic proportions when defining the Vitruvian concept 'Eurythmia, or proportion (I.ii.3), as 'that agreeable *Harmony*, betweene the breadth, length, and height of all the Roomes of the *Fabrique*, which suddenly where it is taketh every *Beholder*, by the secret power of *Proportion*'.⁴⁰ Alberti's treatise had been cited for the first time in England by Dee in his section in the 'Preface' on the numerical and geometric basis to architecture, which described Alberti's notion of 'lineamenta'.⁴¹ This was a Platonic conception which for Dee implied the framing of building elements with underlying lines of perfect numerical length (and was thus comparable to Serlio's 'linee occulte'). Dee translated a section of Alberti's first chapter of the first book thus:

The whole Feate of Architecture in buildyng, consisteth in Lineamentes, and in Framyng. And the whole power and skill of Lineamentes, tendeth to this: that the right and absolute way may be had, of coaptyng and joyning Lines and angles: by which, the face of the buildyng or frame, may be comprehended and concluded. And it is the property of Lineamentes, to prescribe unto buildynges, and every part of them, an apt place, & certaine number: a worthy maner, and semely order: that, so, y^c whole forme and figure of the buildyng, may rest in the very Lineamentes.... We thanke you Master *Baptist*, that you have so aptly brought your Arte, and phrase therof, to have some Mathematicall perfection: by certaine order, number, forme, figure, and *Symmetrie* mentall: all naturall & sensible stuffe set a part.

(Dee 1570: diiij)

Both Dee and Wotton were amongst the first to study Alberti's concept of architectural proportion in England, before or contemporary with the work of Inigo Jones.

Indeed Jones's own most coherent studies on proportion evident from the books comprising his library are his annotations to the Pythagorean scheme outlined by Alberti. These annotations provide an important, and neglected, insight into Jones's understanding of Pythagorean harmony. In his copy of Alberti⁴² Jones made notes in the margin regarding the concept of perfect numbers, for example, that also of 5 comes admiraball things as—mens handes', 'God delits in y^c number 7 and why', 'of od numbers 9 is sellibrated y^c sfeares of heavne', and '6 a most parfait number being mead hooll of all his parts'.⁴³ On the following page Alberti's discussion of the harmony between music and architecture is noted, 'the same numbers that plees the eare pleese the eie', 'Rule of the finimento takes from musitianes & from the most worthy thinges of nature' and, comparing Alberti with Vitruvius, 'he leaves Vitruvius his ways in musicke'. Jones proceeded to note the musical ratios. Under the heading 'what Harmoni is' Jones translated Alberti's harmonic sequence by listing: 'Diapenthe—fifth or sisquialtera', 'Diatesseron fourth or sisquetertia',

'Diapason eyght or dupla', 'Diapason diapente, tuelfe or Treble', 'Disdiapason a fifth or quadrupla, 'to this the tone which is also caled sesquioctave'. Jones also translated Alberti's conclusion that where only two dimensions are concerned, as in laying out a forum or open space, architects should use these numbers in pairs: 'Thes numbers ar yoused to desine y^e Piazza and Plases... for leangth and breadth', and that they are used in threes in halls where heights have to harmonise to plans: And allso thes numbers ar taken by 3 and 3 whear thear is leangth breadth and heayght'.⁴⁴ In the following chapter Jones noted Alberti's applications of these to form geometric plan 'areas', 'the least of plants is y^e square', 'the next is a squar and a half', 'and y^e squar and to thirds', 'to midling plants sits y^e dubble squar which is y^e besst'⁴⁵ concluding 'how on shuld youse thes numbers in the heyghte of roomes'.⁴⁶ The plan of the Banqueting House was itself 'best' since it was obviously a double square. In his copy of Scamozzi Jones also annotated the network of lines, or 'linee occulte', proportioning the palace plans. These annotations on Pythagorean harmony provide the context for a modular analysis of Jones's Banqueting House façade. Any such analysis of the early façade of St Paul's is problematic because of the freehand nature of the drawing, but it can certainly be attempted in the case of the surviving Banqueting House façade where, as Robert Tavernor has observed, 'Jones used a module derived from the column diameter of the orders.... Even the size of the rusticated blocks is governed by the module'.⁴⁷

Of the two preliminary façade designs (c. 1619),⁴⁸ the first was much longer than the completed building (in measuring 119 feet, 6 inches) and has side wings whilst the second was closer to the finished building. Taken together, these show Jones regularising the façade, working towards the double cube and its expression on the front. A survey of the façade⁴⁹ (Figure 33) in conjunction with drawings by Colen Campbell and later John Soane recording the façade before refacing⁵⁰ shows that each column bay has a 6:9 ratio;⁵¹ the Ionic column is nine modules high, based on its width (the shaft itself is eight modules,⁵² which is replicated by the thinner, and thus squatter, Composite shaft above), whilst six of these modules form the width between the column centres. These centre points are clearly marked on Jones's design drawings.⁵³ Both the lower and upper windows, including their tabernacles, are related to this and follow Wotton's advice in being proportioned 2:3 or 'Sesquialtera' — the outer frames are 3.5 modules wide and 5.25 modules high, as they were on the earlier design.⁵⁴ This Ionic storey (the column plus its entablature) is the same height as the upper, Composite storey, thereby reproducing externally the perfect, stable 1:1 ratio of the internal cubes.⁵⁵ The square windows in the rusticated basement are a more visible reflection of this ratio. In this way the exterior ornament is proportioned using the harmonic ratios tending towards the 1:1 ratio implicit in Plato's stable form and source for all number, the cube. It was pointed out that the applied Orders are themselves an external face to one side of this form. Incidentally, the ground level was originally two courses lower, resulting in a rusticated basement 16 feet in height.⁵⁶ Sixteen was Vitruvius'

most perfect number in combining six—the foot is one-sixth of a man's height—and ten—the number of our fingers (III.i.8).⁵⁷ However, this use of a perfect number appears in isolation on the façade, as Tavernor points out,⁵⁸ for in his work Jones seems primarily concerned with ratios governed by geometric figures. These ratios are neither in themselves necessarily comprised of perfect, whole numbers nor do they dictate whole number measurements. Indeed, echoing Alberti's distinction between musical, geometric, and harmonic outlines for buildings,⁵⁹ Dee had made such a distinction between numerical and geometric purity in noting: 'Neither *Number*, nor *Magnitude*, have any Materialitie. First, we will consider *of Number*, and of the Science *Mathematicall*, to it appropriate, called *Arithmetike*: and afterward of *Magnitude*, and his Science, called *Geometrie*'.⁶⁰ The former was subsequently related by Dee to the concept of proportion, 'In lyke sorte, the necessary, wonderfull and Secret doctrine of Proportion, and proportionalitye hath purchased unto it selfe a peculier maner of handlyng and workyng: and so may seme an other forme of *Arithmetike*.'⁶¹

George Marcelline's Neoplatonic eulogy *The Triumphs of King James the First* (1610), with its dedication to Jones's then patron, Prince Henry, identified a numerical perfection and cubic stability in James's heraldic union totalling eight charges:

Eight is like the *Cube*, which signifieth firmenesse or stability, in that it turneth his face to all, and turning downe from above, commeth underneath, yet is it evermore firmly seated, and in one and the same forme. It is also a solid body, which hath his dimensions and properties, by reason of his foure direct or right Angles, for better seat-ing and making himselfe firme: which rendring it so marvailously proper and misticall, doth thereby the better represent him unto us, who by his power hath reestablished & reconfirmed the estate of mankind.

(Marcelline 1610:32–3)

It has been seen that this heraldic Pythagorean numerology was interpreted by Marcelline with reference to the Protestant scheme of apocalyptic history, with the Stuart New Jerusalem as its triumphant conclusion. As confirmation of James's role in the fulfilment of this, according to Marcelline his position as the 107th king of Scotland 'hath this respect, that it is composed of two perfect numbers. Of an hundered, which is tenne times tenne, wherein God is marvailously pleased.'⁶² Here the number ten was itself 'the perfection, resting place, and accomplishment of all other numbers'.⁶³ Hence with its length a multiple of ten, perhaps in the spirit of this Court mythology Jones's double-cube room represented a permanent portent of the cubic New Jerusalem of biblical prophecy.

Indeed, according to La Boderie and Villalpando, Solomon's temple had itself embodied Pythagorean harmonic ratios in expressing Solomon's comprehension of God's ordering of the world through number. In similarly

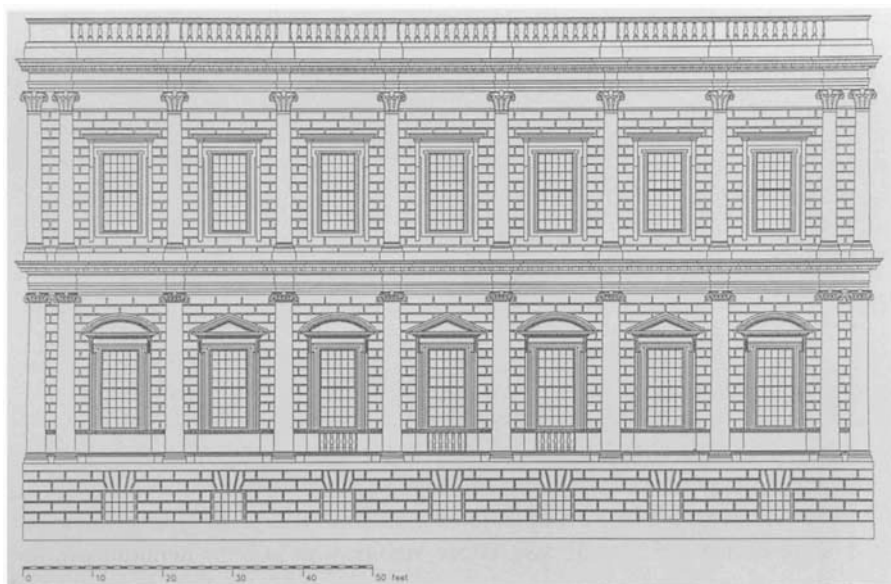


Figure 33 Survey drawing of the Banqueting House façade.

ordering Jones's Vitruvian architecture, these harmonic proportions can in themselves be seen to have represented to the city at large the image of Stuart monarchy as the guarantor of natural justice and wise rule, and thereby implicitly confirmed the monarch's role as the British Solomon, subsequently explicitly proclaimed on the ceiling of the Banqueting House itself. On the cubic quality of James's eight heraldic charges Marcelline added that

none can goe any further then this, when a number or figure is come unto his Triple-dimension of length, bredth, and depth. According to the *Pythagorians*, it is the number of *Justice*, because that first of all it resulteth it selfe into numbers of paire-like-parity, deviding equally al things.

(Marcelline 1610:31)

Dee had also explained the virtue of proportion in design through its relationship to the concept of justice, for 'neither the Auncient Romaine lawes, without good knowledge of *Numbers art*, can be perceived: Nor (Justice in infinite Cases) without due proportion, (narrowly considered), is hable to be executed', whilst with reference to Plato he added that wisdom itself 'be atteyned, by good Skill of *Numbers*'.⁶⁴ As has been seen, it was through his identification of musical proportions in the plan of Stonehenge that Jones proclaimed the antiquity of the monument. Thus, compatible with the emblematic theme of the Orders, their proportions can be seen as a further expression of the 'Albion and Jerusalem' ideal.

The poetry and music of the Stuart masques can now be understood to have made audible the geometric relationships and proportions of their setting, traced beyond Jones's architectural backdrops into the disposition of the Orders framing the double cube of the masquing hall itself. Indeed, it was noted that in Jonson's *Time Vindicated* (1623) an image of the Banqueting House façade formed the opening backdrop (see Figure 15). This was pictured as a prelude to what the stage directions refer to as loud music' (line 274), accompanying Saturn, Venus, and a chorus of votaries, who on the appearance of the masquers in turn recited: 'Their very number, how it takes!/What harmony their presence makes!/How they inflame the place!' (lines 320–3). The later masque by Aurelian Townshend, *Albion's Triumph* (1632), closed with a vision of the Platonic harmony of heaven and earth centred on Whitehall:

a landscipt in which was a prospect of the King's palace of Whitehall and part of the city of London seen afar off, and presently the whole heaven opened, and in a bright cloud were seen sitting five persons representing Innocency, Justice, Religion, Affection to the Country, and Concord, being all companions of Peace.

(lines 338–43)

When understood thus, not as an image or mere shadow of Platonic *Ideas* but as their realisation, the Banqueting House aimed to elevate to this ideal realm not just the masque but the whole range of Court ceremonies enacted within its walls. Further, from the Banqueting House façade we get an impression of how, if they had been built, the monumental circular court and cubic halls of Charles's Whitehall Palace would have been compartitioned, using Pythagorean harmonic ratios in the tradition of the Italian 'Pythagorean Palaces'.

INIGO JONES'S DISHARMONIOUS GEOMETRIC TEMPLE OF MUSIC

Ben Jonson's presentation in 1610 of the alchemist as an illusionist trickster echoes through his famous later mockery of Jones, both forming part of his wider attack on Renaissance magic.⁶⁵ For example, in the disguise of a military cook in *Neptune's Triumph* (1624) Jones is presented by Jonson as knowing

The influence of the stars upon his meats;
And all their seasons, tempers, qualities...
He's as nature in a pot! 'bove all the chemists,
Or bare-breeched brethren of the Rosy-Cross!
He is an architect.

(lines 78–83)

Here Jonson would indeed seem to present Jones as akin to Dee in his comprehension of nature.⁶⁶ In the tradition of the Renaissance magus Jones was, after all, a master of illusion.

The sponsorship of illusory magical arts such as perspective and automata led to the triumph of the masque spectacle and its setting, the rectangular hall with its proscenium arch derived from Serlio, over the ancient Vitruvian form of theatre which had celebrated the actor's role. This was a triumph of Jones over Jonson and represented a reason, perhaps, for Shakespeare's silence in his final years after *The Tempest* (1612), a play which had itself ended with Prospero's inexplicable despondency in lamenting 'the baseless fabric of this vision (IV, i, 151). It follows that the famous argument between Jonson and Jones, focused as it was on a battle between word and picture, ancient and modern theatre, was a direct product of the Dee version of the Vitruvian subjects in their reliance on mechanics which formed the architect's, not the poet's, native inheritance. Jonson saw himself as an inheritor of the ancient theatre, an image of which headed the frontispiece to the 1616 edition of his plays.⁶⁷ Jones, however, defined the masque as 'nothing else but pictures with light and motion'.⁶⁸ In this Platonic view, words encapsulated only the name of a thing, not its essence. A symptom, perhaps, of this shift in emphasis from word to emblem during the Renaissance was the relative relegation of the ancient theatre plan to the realm of imagination, used, for example, in silent mnemonic systems and by Jones at Stonehenge. Thus removed from its original context, this wider application of Vitruvius' theatre plan implies a consequent loss of original meaning, allowing Jones to imagine Stonehenge's theatre plan as a universal 'Architectonicall Scheme' suggestive of a temple, without explicitly acknowledging its theatrical source—and its general application, perhaps, elsewhere in his work. This inauthenticity is in line with the degree of superficiality implicit in refacing an existing building, as a form of stage set.

The last of Jonson's masques for royalty, *Love's Welcome at Bolsover*, was performed in 1634 and took, as the title suggests, the cult of love as its theme. This work formed the last of Jonson's attacks on Jones, who was characterised in the figure of 'Cornell Vitruvius', or, more obviously still, 'Iniguo Vitruvius'. Here the architect entertained the king and queen with the 'Dance of Mechanickes' (line 36),

[*They begun to Dance.*]

Well done, my Musically, Arithmetically, Geometrically Gamesters!
or rather my true Mathematicall Boyes! It is carried, in number,
weight, and measure, as if the Aires were all Haramonie, and the
Figures a welltim'd Proportion!

(lines 67–70)

Here again 'number, weight, and measure', in echoing standard Platonic doctrine, originated from Solomon's comment in the book of Wisdom. Indeed,

St Paul's and Whitehall Palace would seem to have embodied just such an all-consuming 'Geometrical' design, a Solomonic geometry in which 'the Figures a well-time! Proportion'. In this dance Jonson implicated Jones in the general Renaissance trend whereby the mystical and numerological grounds for the use of geometry in building gave way to geometry's more functional, dictatorial role.⁶⁹ This might be seen reflected in the scheme at Stonehenge, Whitehall, and St Paul's, governed less by individual perfect numbers than by an overall geometry (much like the functional fortification designs Jones studied). Here, in common with the architecture of a later, more rational age, the 'antique' column was subservient to an all-consuming geometry, rather than the column itself being the module which generated the building outline.

Jonson's presentation of geometry and proportion in *Love's Welcome* represents not only the terms in which Jones's work was attacked, but was by implication a caricature of the Caroline masque itself in its expression of Charles's mythology of Platonic love through geometric symbolism. However, only three years earlier when inaugurating this mythology in the last co-operative venture with Jones, the masque *Love's Triumph through Callipolis* (1631), Jonson had celebrated the perfect balance of geometry and proportion as represented by the royal couple. For in reflecting Ficino's commentary on the *Symposium*,⁷⁰ Jonson employed a circular metaphor for the love which surrounded the queen.

CHORUS. For Love without his object soon is gone;
Love must have answering love to look upon.

AMPHITRITE. To you, best judge, then, of perfection!

EUPHEMUS. The queen of what is wonder in the place!

AMPHITRITE. Pure object of heroic love alone!

EUPHEMUS. The centre of proportion,

AMPHITRITE. Sweetness,

EUPHEMUS. Grace!

AMPHITRITE. Deign to receive all lines of love in one.

EUPHEMUS. And by reflecting of them fill this space,

CHORUS. Till it a circle of those glories prove
Fit to be sought by beauty, found by Love.

(lines 118–29)

When read against Jonson's references to the use of geometry in masques in the later celebration of Platonic love at Bolsover, we can see the extent to which his artistic world had become unbalanced.

Indeed, in the *Bolsover* masque Jones was directly attacked by Jonson for designing disharmonious Pythagorean temples, through an allusion to the legendary discovery by Pythagoras of universal harmony resounding from the hammer beats of a smith. The basis of antique theatre design in

Pythagorean harmony was here presented as being abused by Jones through his construction in masque of a temple to a new, mechanical music: 'O Captaine *Smith*! our Hammer-armed *Vulcan*! with your three Sledges, you are our Musique, you come a little too tardie; but wee remit that, to your polt-foot, we know you are lame' (lines 49–52). Jonson presented the architect's modern Pythagoras as a disabled shadow of his legendary ancestor. Robert Fludd's contemporary 'Temple of Music', an emblem within his artificial memory theatre, illustrated Pythagoras in the act of eavesdropping on the smith at work. Now placed on a silent stage, Fludd's Pythagoras can be seen as a mirror image of what Jonson attacked, with the work of both Jones and Fludd an outcome of the death of Pythagorean harmony which by contrast had reverberated within the poet's ancient theatre. Jonson's rebuke to Jones centred on the architect as a parody of the craftsman of old, with his workforce apparently traditional in nature but now dancing to a new, mechanical tune. Here Jones's all-consuming geometrical designs are presented by Jonson as a corruption of the traditional work of the king's Surveyor, and thus less the development of past practices (as they were understood in the previous chapter) than a herald of the more rational age. Hence, once again, Jones can be seen as both traditional and innovative.

With work on St Paul's having begun a year before the performance of *Love's Welcome*, in the conclusion to this masque Jonson presents Jones organising the modern building team: 'Master *Maul*, our Free-Mason; *Squire Summer*, our Carpenter, and *Twybil* his Man; stand you foure, there, i' the second ranke, worke upon that ground...in the name of your *Iniquo Vitruvius*. Hay for the Lilly, for, and the blended Rose' (lines 56–76). The rose and lily here obviously referred to the king and queen, the red rose of England united with the white lily of France, with overtones of the standard alchemical union of the white queen with the red king.⁷¹ Whilst the rose is suggestive of Rosicrucian imagery, this floral heraldry had been linked to Hermetic mythology in Jonson's *The Fortunate Isles and their Union* (1625) where the 'old musicians', Arion, Amphion, and Apollo 'sing the present prophecy that goes/Of joining the bright lily and the rose' (lines 425–6). However, given the object of satire in *Love's Welcome* and Jonson's dislike of practical magic, a further Hermetic pun may also have been intended against Jones's 'name' referred to just prior to this floral union, for the lily in combination with the rose was a traditional emblem for the magus, especially in the Tarot pack.⁷² Jonson finally demoted Jones from Neoplatonic engineer and architect to a mere conjuror of theatrical shows, reminiscent of his trickster magicians in the *Alchemist*.

As the first permanent Court theatre Jones's masquing hall was designed to house the revelation of transitory visions of Platonic perfection, the physical embodiment of which was, however, realised through the architecture itself. In due course this relationship was made most explicit in the emblematic ceiling, Rubens's apotheosis of James I. Neoplatonic philosophy of the kind which influenced Inigo Jones is now obviously consigned to history, as

unreal and invisible as the Court masques which were once both inspired by, and expressed, its cosmology. Such Stuart pretensions to a magical control of nature were, of course, a delusion. However, standing today in the room in which these Court festivals took place, its coherence in orchestrating antique elements embodying harmonic proportions, symmetrically arranged to form a geometric whole,⁷³ is surely a testimony to the imaginative power of such intellectual magic and the beauty to which it aspired.

VII

'The body of the King...that glorious Sun'

PROCESSIONS AND STUART LONDON AS THE NEOPLATONIC 'CITY OF THE SUN'

THE STUART MASQUE AND THE *IDEA* OF THE SUN KING

The conception of the king's mystical body, together with the magical aura which by tradition surrounded the person and touch of the medieval monarch, found expression in art through one symbol in particular, that of the sun. Identification with the sun was a commonplace of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European monarchy. Henry III of France, patron for a time of Giordano Bruno, adopted solar heraldry, foreshadowing the solar conception of monarchy of Louis XIV.¹ During the Middle Ages the British monarchy often identified itself with the sun: the heraldry of Richard II and Henry IV included the rose 'en soleil', whilst the 'sun in splendour' was the heraldic badge of Edward IV as represented on a frieze in St George's Chapel, Windsor (Edward was buried in the choir). Soon after his accession, Charles added a sunburst to the Garter badge, the red cross of St George. Some of the sun imagery in Shakespeare's historical plays stems from this tradition of solar heraldic devices.²

The medieval conception of a lunar empire ruled by the solar papacy³ was inherited and represented by the Protestant state and church, united under the British monarchy. As such, solar images are common in Elizabethan art, signifying the light of the Protestant faith, and also Elizabeth's virginity and the white purity of her benign magic. In Heywood's poetic interpretation of Merlin's prophecies he claimed the magician had foreseen in Elizabeth that 'Her bright and glorious Sunbeams shall expell/The vain clouds of the candle, booke and bell'.⁴ In mirroring the identification of Arthur with the sun, Elizabeth was frequently cast as Albion's 'shining sun' in Court displays.⁵ The sun represented an essential metaphor for the Elizabethan Golden Age, as Heywood noted: 'Thus Sol shines on her with his best aspect,/With Ariadnes Crown, Astraea deckt,/Doth now discend upon this terrene stage,/Not seen before, since the first golden age.' On reaching the death of James, Heywood lamented, 'Thus is our Sun set, never to return', only to greet Charles as his

solar successor, for 'Of pious teares, then turn you from the west,/To see the new Sun rising in the East.'⁶

Following this medieval tradition, and as a further aspect of the continuity in presentation of the idea of British monarchy, both James and Charles were frequently identified as the sun in masque. In Jonson's *Blacknesse* (1604) the queen is instructed by a vision to seek Albion or Britannia; the moon goddess appears and observes: 'Britannia, which the triple world admires .../Ruled by a sun that to this height doth grace it.../This sun is temperate, and refines/All things on which his radiance shines' (lines 219–43). Solar imagery was thus used to express the prophetic restoration of ancient Britain, admired as this union was by the Platonic triple worlds. As the royal sun, the king here cast a 'sciential light' of knowledge over his empire, a divine power incanted through the 'mute hieroglyphic' of dance. In the masque of the following year, Jonson's *Hymenaei* (1605), the figure of Truth appeared,

Her right hand holds a sun with burning rays,
Her left a curious bunch of golden keys,
With which heaven gates she locketh, and displays...
Eternal Unity behind her shines.
That fire and water, earth and air combines.
(lines 839–41, 850–1)

Here, the sun's burning rays symbolised James's wisdom, which in turn was expressed through an alchemical union of the elements.⁷

The image of the moon was also used in Court art to reflect this theme of solar monarchy. In alchemical emblematics the white queen and red king frequently symbolised the lunar and solar principles respectively, with the marriage of the moon and sun being essential to the creation of the philosopher's stone.⁸ The identification of both Stuart queens with the moon sprang from works such as Raleigh's *Ocean's Love to Cynthia* and Elizabethan allegories of the Virgin Queen as Cynthia-Diana, exemplified by Chapman's *Hymnus in Cynthia* (1594).⁹ Following the defeat of the Armada, Elizabeth's control of the oceans was naturally symbolised by the moon. The cult of Elizabeth as Diana informed aspects of the Elizabethan Court garden in particular, expressed for example in the Diana fountain and grove at Nonsuch or the crescent lake excavated for Lord Hertford's 1591 Eleventh entertainment.¹⁰ Subsequently fountains comprising statues of Diana and Mercury were built for Henrietta Maria in the gardens of Somerset House.¹¹ Indeed, as governor of celestial harmony Apollo had controlled the muses, and in the garden more than in any other realm the solar patron's own nourishment of art-forms imitating and perfecting nature most clearly imitated the sun's nourishment of nature itself. Chapter 1 noted that Honthorst's painting presented the magical arts headed by Charles pictured as Apollo

and Henrietta Maria as Diana, the sun and moon of the British heavens (see Figure 3). Here the love between the sun and the moon was a further sign of the Caroline cult of love surrounding the royal couple. The identification of the queen herself with the sun reached its artistic apotheosis with William Davenant's *Luminalia, The Queen's Festival of Light* (1638), a masque 'of darkness and light' (line 13) in which the queen danced accompanied by her ladies, and the sun handed over the task of lighting the hemisphere to Henrietta Maria, 'the queen of brightness' (line 357).

Whilst Neoplatonic philosophers were consistent in their conception of the sun as the ruler of the natural forces which could unite man with God, for the followers of Ficino the sun occupied the central orbit, at the middle of divine influences, whilst for Copernicans the sun was the central point of the cosmos.¹² Robert Fludd, in emphasising the centrality of the sun in the celestial world, made reference to the identification of the tabernacle with the sun in the Psalms (19:4).¹³ Fludd's Christianisation of the Platonic structure was reinforced by his use of imperial symbolism, with the sun projected as the celestial governor:

the Macrocosmicall Sun's dignity and perfection is easily discerned, in that this Royall *Phoebus* doth sit in his chariot, even in the centre or middle of the heavens, glittering with his golden hair, as the sole visible Emperour, holding the royall Scepter and government of the world, in whom all the vertue of the celestiaall bodies do consist.

(Fludd 1659:61)

In seeking to enact the imperial roles of the British Solomon, Constantine, and Christ, the Stuart monarchy naturally promoted the solar iconography which by tradition surrounded such divine archetypes. According to Agrippa, 'Moses face did shine, such that the children of Israel could not behold him by reason of the brightness of his countenance'.¹⁴ It follows that the central Stuart policy of Divine Right inevitably found expression through solar symbolism. As Roy Strong has concluded on *Luminalia*, at the moment when the law decreed the authority of the Crown to be absolute, Inigo Jones, at the queen's command, designed a masque on the subject of light.¹⁵ In forming a symbol of the king's divinely appointed role, solar imagery thus expressed the monarch's central place in the Platonic sphere or macrocosm. The hierarchy of the Court consequently came to be seen as a reflection of celestial order, and indeed under Charles was projected as its very embodiment, with the stellification of the Court a thematic norm of later masques. In 1610 George Marcelline compared the two Stuart princes to the 'twinne Starre', with the sun 'at the very highest in *Gemini*',¹⁶ whilst noting later, in 1625, that Henrietta Maria 'shall shine like *Phoebe* in this our Orbe, environed round about with these glorious starres and resplendent lights, the Nobles of our Kingdome'.¹⁷ For the Paracelsian alchemist, Bishop

Thornborough, the Stuart empire of Great Britain was itself like 'the Firmament of heaven, which God hath adorned with the two great lights, the Sunne and Moone, and other Starres, even the whole army and harmony of the heavens in one Firmament'.¹⁸ This conception of Court hierarchy as a model of that of the celestial realm informed the festival art of the royal entry into the city, in which the monarch's magical powers were proclaimed to the public and to the macrocosm itself, once again through solar imagery.

THE TRIUMPHAL ROUTE THROUGH LONDON, AN UNREALISED EMBLEM OF STUART RULE

The masque was a self-contained drama within the Court, the transforming power of which lay in the Stuart monarch's position at its centre and his faith in his own body as a model reflecting the harmony of the country at large. However, the traditional device for the extension of the magical virtues of the Renaissance monarch to the ordinary citizens was the Triumph, or entry through the city, which through heraldry, costume, music, and temporary arches projected royal ideals and charmed the citizens with the show of monarchy.¹⁹ This became a powerful form of ceremonial magic in the Renaissance and as a development of medieval pageantry it was thus an important aspect of the general evolution of Renaissance arts from established art-forms.²⁰ The Renaissance entry relied, in particular, on the efficacy of emblems as conveyors to a general audience of the hidden truths and mysteries within the Hermetic tradition. For each temporary triumphal arch which framed the route became an architectural emblem encapsulating a particular virtue of the ruler who passed beneath, whilst in more generally proclaiming a new Golden Age these arches projected royal powers as being at the centre of the magical cosmos and reflected the civic order which only the king's personal authority could assure.

The medieval poetry of Langland and Lydgate had celebrated the Court processions of Henry VII with old St Paul's as their object.²¹ In 1588 Elizabeth proceeded with 'great splendour' to St Paul's, to give thanks on the defeat of the Spanish Armada, seated in a triumphal chariot with pillars bearing the heraldic lion, dragon and arms of England.²² James's coronation entry into the City of London in 1604 followed the medieval tradition of the entry enacted in London by Henry VI in 1431, Edward VI in 1547, Mary I in 1553, and Elizabeth I in 1559. James's entry was intended to consolidate his claims to the throne and prophesy the future harmonies of Stuart rule.²³ Temporary arches were built within the City of London and formed a continuous narrative on the subject of Stuart virtue. As Chapter 3 noted, in describing their design as a branch of hieroglyphics, Jonson placed these arches in the same context as the Neoplatonic emblematics of the future masques. On the 'Londinium' arch, for example, emblems included personifications of 'Divine Wisdom',

'Vigilance', and 'Loving Affection' (Figure 34).²⁴ Through their coherent display of the Vitruvian Orders, these coronation arches radiated the harmony and order that would result from James's succession. This royal harmony was echoed by music performed on the route which was understood as incantatory, conjuring up natural forces that were expected to guide the British king in his rule. Inside one arch, together with music from a gallery, bird song filled the air and two choristers from St Paul's sang in 'sweete and ravishing voyces' declaring that 'Troynovant is now a sommer arbour'.²⁵ On the final arch, at Temple Bar, a statue of Astraea held a caduceus and cornucopia whilst the celebrations identified James's rule with the Golden Age of Saturn. This arch marked the boundary between the two cities, Westminster and London, and as it faced both was entitled a 'Temple of Janus'. Having moved through the city, the procession proceeded down the Strand to Westminster, and hence served to link the two cities. In thus embodying the magical virtues of Stuart rule, these arches represented a triumphal overlay on the disorder of medieval London and thus a temporary harmonic ordering which Jones's architecture would consolidate.

A thematic norm of the Renaissance entry was the projection of the monarch as Christ entering the New Jerusalem. In reflecting this, as supreme governor of the Church of England, the king's progress to and from divine service at the Abbey or St Paul's and his participation in ceremonies of a processional nature were developed into quasi-ecclesiastical rituals, comparable in splendour to the Roman 'Ecclesia triumphans'. Whenever the sovereign took part in a ceremony of state a spell surrounded his sacred presence, for he was the Anointed of the Lord, the 'Christus Domini', and embodiment of mystic kingship. Even the royal banners and heraldry displayed on such occasions were thought to possess a talismanic power.²⁶ The sketch by Van Dyck represents Charles I in such a procession, set against architecture in the antique manner and with the Garter Order, on the Feast of St George's Day (see Figure 8). Elias Ashmole defined the Garter procession:

We think it not amiss in speaking of *Processions* to divide them into *Military*, *Civil*, and *Ecclesiastical*: Under the *Military* may best be comprehended *Triumphs*, and the *Transuection* of the *Roman Knights*; under the *Civil*, the pompous *Entries* or *Cavalcades of Princes*, into or through any great *City*; and the *Ecclesiastical* are those generally so called, wherein the *Church* proceeds upon a solemn account of *Supplication* or *Thanksgiving*: To all which, in the last place, shall follow the order of the *Grand Procession* of this most Noble *Order*; which in reference to the Degrees of the Persons appearing therein, is composed of a mixture of such as are to be seen in each of the three former.

(Ashmole 1672:552)

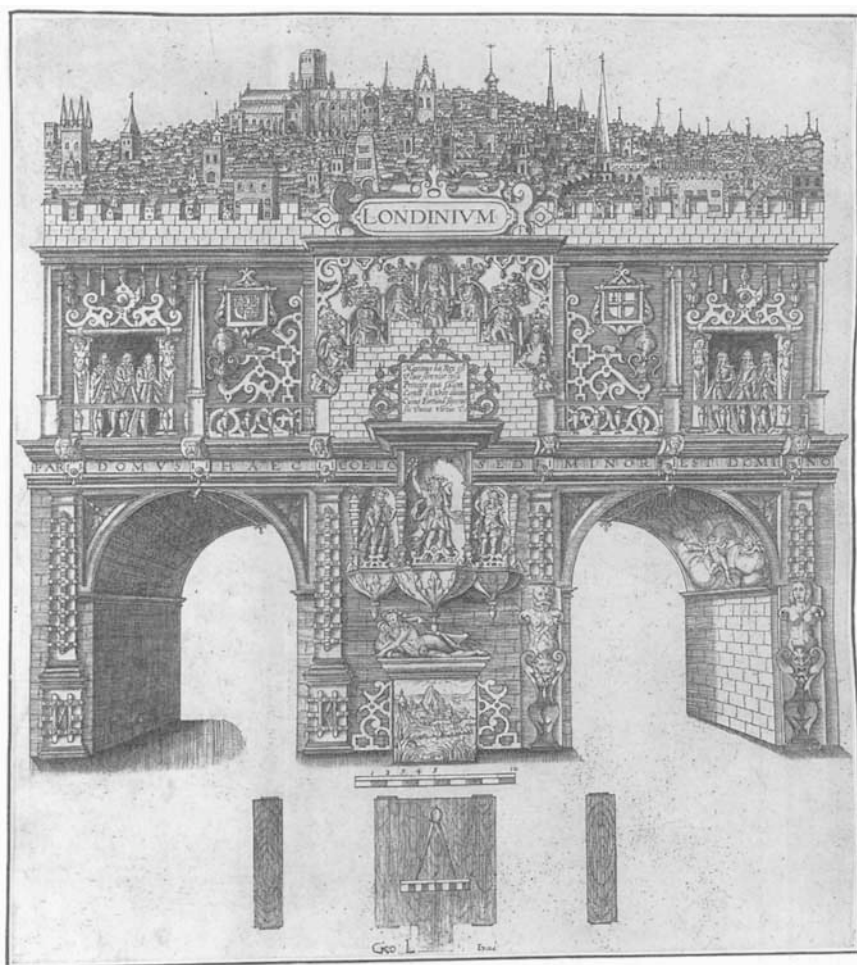


Figure 34 The 'Londinium Arch', from James I's coronation entry through the City of London in 1604, picturing the union of heraldry and the architectural Orders, with the old cathedral at the 'summit' of the city. Published by Stephen Harrison in *Arches of Triumph*, London (1604). (Courtesy of the Master and Fellows, Magdalene College, Cambridge.)

As in the masque, the sacred nature of kingship found expression in these festivals through the monarch's particular identification with the sun and the star's triumphant journey across his heavenly city.²⁷ The solar Triumph was itself a theme enacted within masque. In Chapman's *The Memorable Maske*, which was designed with Jones's 'inventions' for the wedding of Princess Elizabeth in 1613, for example, a golden hill surmounted by a silver temple signified the alchemical sun and moon and the union of their respective

realms, day and night; this formed the object of a solar Triumph, with 'two Carrs Triumphall' in which 'advanc't, the choice Musitions of our Kingdome' and 'in the under-part of their Coronets, shin'd sunnes of golde plate, sprinkled with pearle'. The Triumph was, however, unlike the masque in enabling the king to spread his solar virtue to the city at large through his actual presence. James himself made reference in *Basilikon Doron* (1603) to the concept of the God-King spreading the light of his virtues down through the descending hierarchy of a heavenly ordered society via his physical presence:

Remember then, that this glistering worldly glory of Kings, is given them by God, to teach them to preasse so to glister and shine before their people, in all workes of sanctification and righteousness, that their persons as bright lamps of godliness and virtue, may, going in and out before their people, give light to all their steps.

(James I 1918:12)

It follows that during Charles's absence in Scotland, the City of London was pictured by the civic authorities as in darkness, with 'a continuall and heavy night' and 'our joys...eclipsed'. Only on the return of the solar king in 1641 were the streets reilluminated by 'the warme sunne of his illustrious countenance', whilst a banquet was prepared by the twelve companies to celebrate the ending of their mourning, 'put of at the sight of his beames'.²⁸

The Stuart monarch's identification with the sun in processions was naturally replicated in those centred on the 'king' of the City of London, the Lord Mayor. Thomas Dekker, in *Troia-Nova Triumphans* (the theme of the Lord Mayor's pageant of 1612), noted:

TRYUMPHS are the most choice and daintiest fruit that spring from peace and abundance; Love begets them; and much cost brings them forth...For the chaires of magistrates ought to be adorned, and to shine like the chariot which carries the sunne; and beames (if it were possible) must be thought to be shot from the one as from the other: as well to dazle and amaze the common eye, as to make it learne that there is some excellent, and extraordinary arme from heaven thrust downe to exalt a superior man, that thereby the gazer may be drawne to more obedience and admiration. (Fairholt 1843: II, 11–12)

In reflecting the celestial concept of Court hierarchy, the annual Lord Mayor's pageant came to represent a celebration of the twelve city companies as a model of cosmic order, with the participation of Bolton's 'twelve principall *Monopolies* (the Zodiacke of the citie, in whose Eclipticke line their Lord Maior must ever runne his yeares course)'.²⁹ The annual civic procession frequently presented the new mayor's virtues through a display of Neoplatonic symbolism. The alchemical elements, salamander and Mercury all featured in

the procession of 1620 which proclaimed the ‘manifesto’ of Sir Francis Jones,³⁰ the Lord Mayor who served alongside Inigo Jones on the St Paul’s restoration committee of that year.³¹ The Lord Mayor’s procession for the following year, Thomas Middleton’s *Sun in Aries*, celebrated solar civic virtue expressed through planned Stuart ‘restorations’ at the cathedral and the New Standard:³²

*his Lordship being gracefully conducted toward the New Standard,
one in a cloudy ruinous habit leaning upon the turret, at a trumpet’s
sounding, suddenly starts and wakes, and in amazement throwes
off his unseemely garments,*

What noise is this wakes me from ruine’s wombe?
Hah! blesse me, Time, howe brave am I become!...
Vertue’s faire aedifice rais’d up like mee.
Why, here’s the Citie’s goodnes, shoven in either,
To raise two worthy buildings both together...
Nay, note the Citie’s bountie in both, still
When they restore a ruine, ‘tis their will
To be so noble in their cost and care,
All blemish is forgot when they repaire;
For what has beene re-edified a late
But lifts its head up in more glorious state;
’Tis grown a principle, ruine’s built agen,
Come better’d both in monuments and men.

(Nichols 1828: IV, 728)

New building work evidently formed part of the Lord Mayor’s traditional concerns, here bound up with the restoration of a supposed ancient civic freedom as a virtuous product of the companies’ celestial rule over the city, expressed in the progress’s title. Indeed, directly after this speech the new Lord Mayor was led to a mountain encircled by the twelve celestial signs.

Hence, in line with the Court, Stuart institutions which cultivated their identity through Neoplatonic mythology—the Garter Knights with their mystic quest, the city companies with their Solomonic forebears, and the church with its pre-Catholic traditions—expressed this mythology through processions in particular as a form of ceremonial magic centred on the image of the monarch as the sun. In these processions, as Van Dyck’s sketch indicates, the new Court architecture played an important role in forming a backdrop. The presentation of Jones’s architecture as a backdrop to the Triumph was clearest in masque. In Townshend’s *Albion’s Triumph* (1632), for example, Charles was cast as an ancient British king and, together with courtiers whose costumes were taken from Onuphrius Panvinus’s *De Ludis Circensibus* (1581) which depicted the Roman Triumph,³³ progressed through a series of triumphal settings designed by Jones culminating with the ‘prospect of the

King's palace of Whitehall and part of the City of London seen afar off (lines 338–40). In the process Charles moved from the secular Triumph through a religious ceremony to conclude in an architectural emblem of perfect union. In the sermon at Paul's Cross in 1620 to announce cathedral 'restoration' plans, which was itself delivered after a procession led by James to St Paul's, the text supplied by the king implied the importance of the solar Triumph to Jones's future work and through the progress cast the city in the king's light,

When ever did your *Sunne*, since his first arising amongst you, stand still in your Gibeon? the person (I meane) of your King, vouchsafe to be a part of your auditorie in this place, (with that glorious *starre* that followeth the *Sunne*, and the whole *host* of our earthly firmament about him; with so many thousands of soules besides, *seeking the face of their Ruler*, as I say not but in a triumph or show where they come to gaze, or along the streets in traine and succession, there have beene more, but in a garland and ring of an auditorie coucht together, never have more beene scene) til this day?

(King 1620:32)

The Triumph is here clearly understood as a public show of Court hierarchy which reflected that of the heavens. This sermon provides a clue to an unrealised architectural ambition, for the Stuarts can be seen to have intended to mirror the temporary arches of 1604 by building a processional route through London which would have permanently radiated the solar virtues of monarchy in a series of new, ordered façades. Most notably, the plan was to include the refacing of old St Paul's Cathedral, the destination of such Triumphs.

If we plot the buildings designed by Inigo Jones on a contemporary map of London we find that a large number face onto the main route from Whitehall to St Paul's Cathedral (Figure 35). The Strand was the traditional route of royal processions to and from the City of London. Starting at Whitehall Palace and progressing past planned or executed work at the New Exchange, Covent Garden, Somerset House, and Temple Bar, and concluding at St Paul's Cathedral, this route can be understood to have defined the new imperial city aspired to by the Stuart kings. Essential components of the Renaissance entry were the temporary decorations added to major buildings on the route, which were ornamented with heraldry and 'antique' symbols to incorporate them into the overall scheme. Hence as a permanent reminder of the monarch, Jones's architecture on the route from palace to temple would have consolidated what was by its very nature a transient manifestation of royal power and order in the city, providing a context for the conception of the Orders as a branch of royal and civic heraldry. Indeed, the monarch would thereby be relieved of the necessity actually to perform such public displays of his image, a development mirrored by the increasing isolation of Charles's Court in its absolutist phase and its reliance on the closed art-form of masque for the display of the royal

image. With the Stuart city ordered by this route, it follows that each of Jones's buildings should be considered not on its own (as is generally the case), but in its particular place on the journey from palace to temple. When viewed as jigsaw pieces, the surviving drawings may be understood to represent fragments of one overall picture of the lost Stuart city (Figure 36).

Company emblems played an important role in decorating the route of royal processions through the City of London to St Paul's. According to Stow's *Chronicle*, on the occasion of James I's 1620 procession 'the streets being rayled on both sides, and the severall Companies of London in their severall places, in their Liveries and Banners, gave their attendance all the way to *Paules*'.³⁴ There were 'tapestry-hangings all the while hanging out of the windows'.³⁵ On such occasions it was the responsibility of the Lord Mayor to see that members of each company lining the royal route were properly dressed, in the colours of their craft and arranged in order. Writing to each in 1620 he instructed,

you take special care that all persons of the Livery of your said Company may be in readiness against that time, with their Livery Hoods, attired in their best apparell, to wait and attend his Majestie's coming...the foremile to be covered with a fair blew cloth...Your Standards and Streamers to be sett up, as shall best beseeeme the place.

(Nichols 1828: IV, 597)

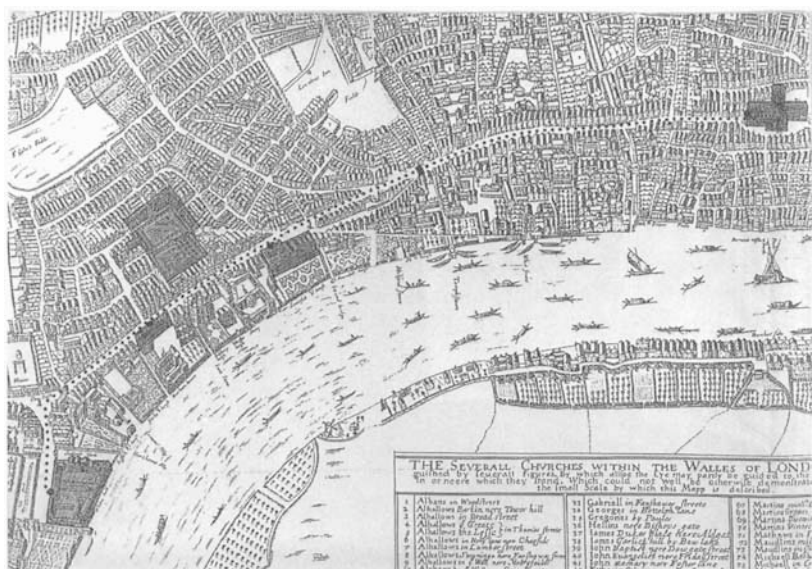


Figure 35 The Stuart triumphal route. Map of London by William Fairthorne (1658), with Inigo Jones's buildings and triumphal route superimposed. (Courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.)

Much like the emblematics of masque, these heraldic devices and costumes displayed various themes of monarchy and its institutions during the Triumph. The background buildings in the 'Kings Procession' drawings of Henri III, pictured progressing in 1582 through Paris from the Louvre to the Church of the Grands Augustins (the Chapel of the Order of the Holy Spirit which he had founded), had related to the emblematic nature of the figures of the procession.³⁶ Hence, with the idea of the Orders as a form of royal heraldry in mind, Jones's new façades on this route might be considered in emblematic terms, being primarily expressive of certain aspects of the institution of monarchy. As such they were a permanent form of his emblematic masque stage sets and of the temporary arches of 1604 along part of the same route. This link and indeed the importance of the Triumph itself might be seen to echo in Webb's claim of 1660 that he was 'brought up by his Uncle Mr. Inigo Jones upon his late Maiestyes command on the study of Architecture, as well that which relates to building as for masques, Tryumphs and the like'.³⁷ Rubens's ceiling to the Banqueting House, with its emblematic characterisation of British mythology, located as it was at the beginning of the procession, may be interpreted as a key to the themes of Stuart monarchy which were embodied by Jones's façades encountered on the route itself.

Indeed, the first backdrop to the Triumph was the Banqueting House façade. It has already been noted that Jones himself represented this façade soon after its completion in a Neoplatonic context in Jonson's masque *Time Vindicated* (1623), the Banqueting House forming the backdrop to the first scene (see Figure 15). The proscenium arch for this masque is recorded in Jones's drawing for the second scene. Here, between the twelve zodiacal signs supported by the figures 'Night' and 'Day',³⁸ faint intersecting pencil lines form triangles or pyramids. These were frequently used by Fludd and Kircher to represent the cosmic duality of light and dark as they interpenetrate one another (Figure 37).³⁹ Jones thus presented an occult setting or framework of light derived from Neoplatonic emblematics surrounding his Banqueting House façade, a fitting backdrop to the commencement of the solar Triumph. Indeed, following the precedent of garden banqueting rooms, the section of the Banqueting House itself embodied this duality of dark and light, since the masquing hall of illumination sat over a dark grotto-basement. John Aubrey noted in 1691 that in the garden banqueting room of Danvers House, Chelsea, 'you goe from this gay Paradise into the darksome, deep vault [*Grotto* written over] where the Well is'.⁴⁰ In this spirit the Jones-Webb Whitehall Palace design as recorded in William Kent's drawings of 1727 included many sun emblems.⁴¹

The royal Triumph progressed from the Banqueting House along the Strand. Although the view of the new Covent Garden piazza and church, begun by Jones in 1631, was blocked from here, a view may have been intended, for in Hollar's engraving of this area published in 1658 only a thin strip of buildings separated the Strand from Covent Garden (Figure 38). Jones's buildings, forming Covent Garden's arcaded piazza, did not cover all

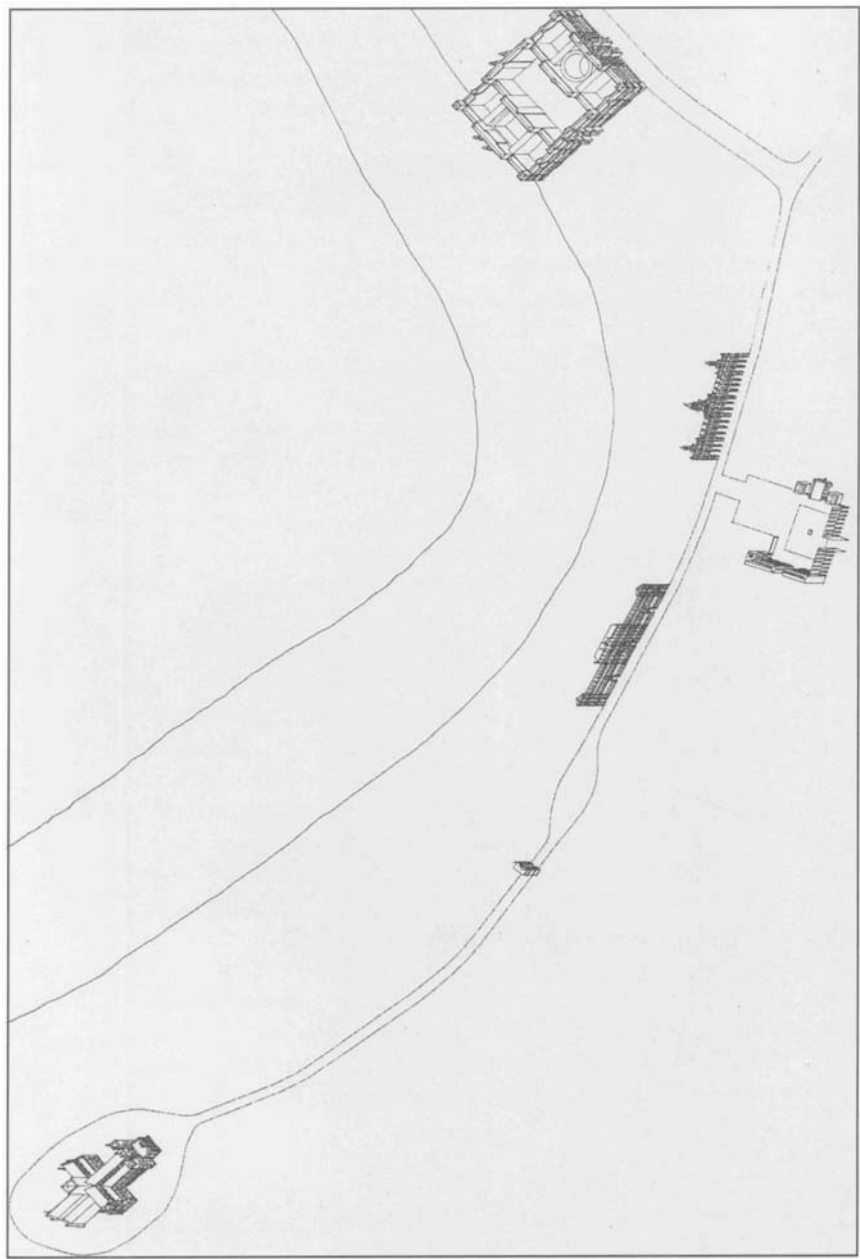


Figure 36 Reconstruction of Inigo Jones's façades along the triumphal route, from palace (right) to temple (left) Whitehall Palace (as planned, part built), New Exchange façade (as planned), Covent Garden Piazza (as built, connecting road possibly planned), Somerset House façade (as planned), Arch at Temple Bar (as planned), old St Paul's (as built).

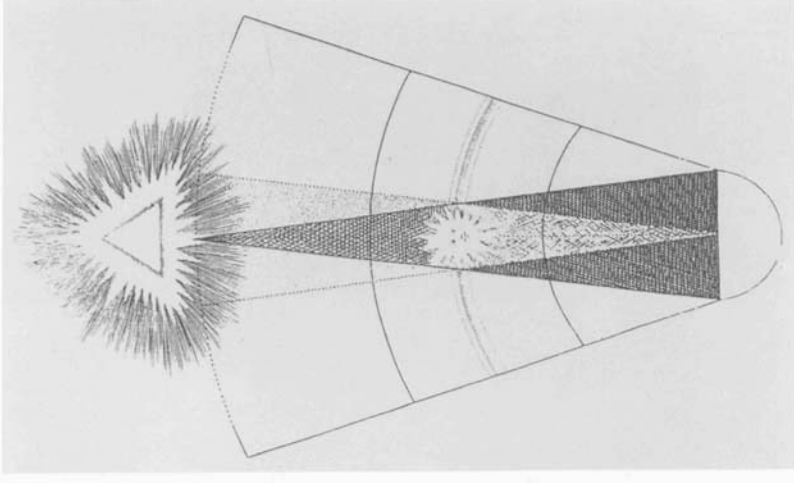
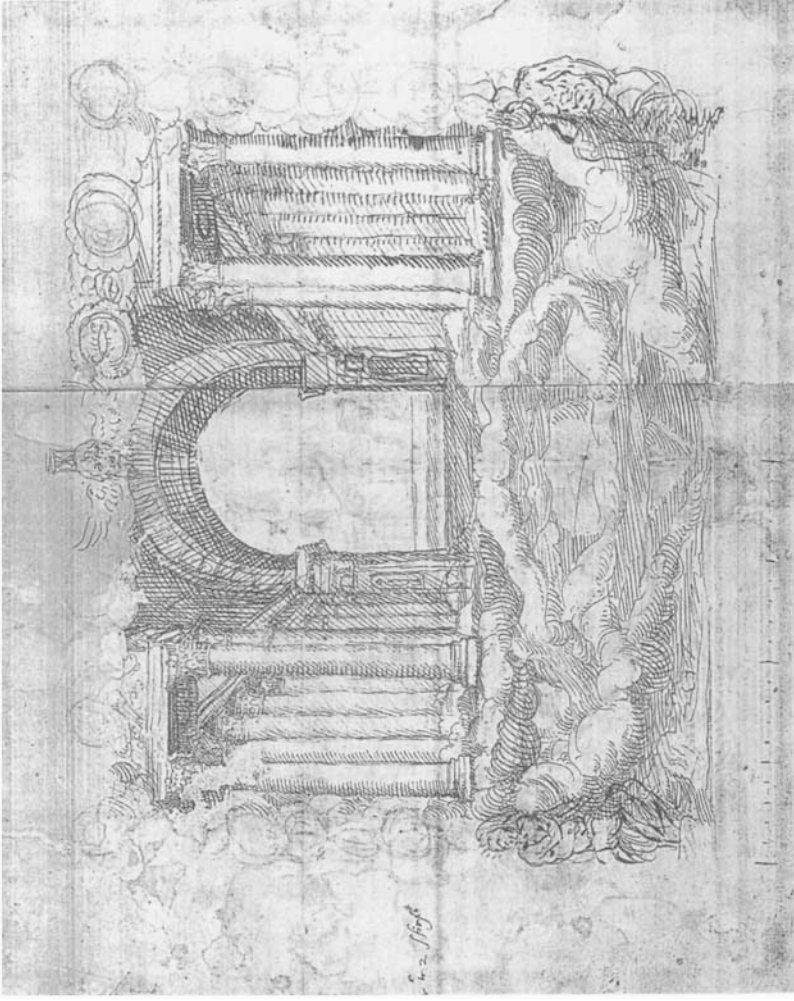


Figure 37 Jones' procenium design for Jonson's smasque *Time Viindicated* (1623) (Chatsworth) (a) in comparison with Robert Fludd's 'Dark and Light' pyramids published in *Philosophia sacra et vere Christiana Seu Meteorologia Cosmica*, Frankfurt (1626) (b) (Cambridge University Library). (Reproduced by permission of the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees and the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.)

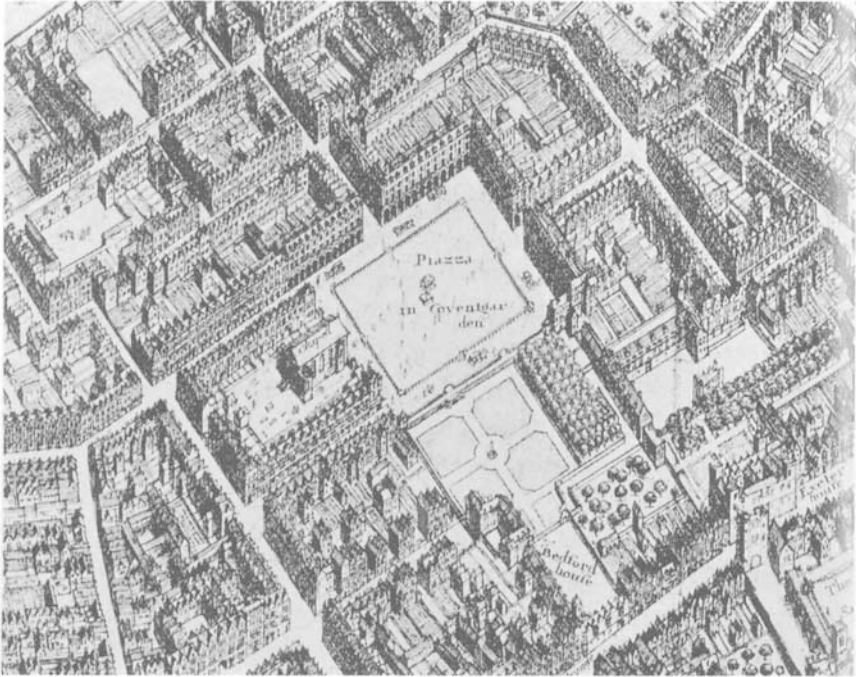


Figure 38a Hollar's aerial view of west London (c. 1658), showing Covent Garden in relationship to the Strand. (By permission of the British Library.)



Figure 38b Jones's Tuscan portico to St Paul's church, Covent Garden (1631–3).

four sides as might have been expected,⁴² but only the north and east, with the church of St Paul demarcating the western boundary. Plans showing perimeter building plot dimensions leave the southern boundary open.⁴³ It may have been left clear in order to open up a view from the Strand to the new piazza, a plan subsequently halted by the upheavals of the Civil War. By applying the optical rules of perspective, the celebration of vistas to distant piazzas was a norm of the Renaissance Triumph, and such places were arranged, like the settings in masque, to correspond to the point of view of the prince as he moved through the city.⁴⁴ Although sponsored by the Earl of Bedford, the Covent Garden development symbolised the ordering effect intended for the whole city through royal building proclamations which had been issued by James in 1615 and 1619 in the name of the 'first king of Great Britain' and which had alluded to the building achievements of Augustus.⁴⁵ Indeed, it was suggested in Chapter 2 that the Reformed, Protestant faith was symbolised by the Tuscan portico to Jones's church, since he saw the rustic Tuscan Order as an emblem of the simple nature of ancient Britain. Whilst a link with the busy Strand would have had commercial advantages for Covent Garden, the monarch could have viewed this transformed part of the city through this link as he passed in the Triumph.

Progressing along the Strand, on the right the monarch would have passed the New Exchange, forum of commerce in the city, followed by Somerset House, the official residence of the queen since the inauguration of James's reign. Both were the subject of schemes by the Jones-Webb partnership involving new Strand façades, neither of which was ultimately built (Figure 39).⁴⁶ As Chapter 5 noted, the New Exchange elevation was to be formed around five equal squares. As an exercise in constructing a harmonious backdrop to, and permanent reminder of, the royal procession, both façades can be linked in sequence. Through these new ordered façades, which incorporated 'antique' statues and heraldry, one design celebrated the role of commerce in the Stuart capital, the other the institution of the queen's household installed here by the Stuart Court. Indeed, Jones's next scheme on the Strand formed an explicit celebration of the royal entry itself in the form of a triumphal arch.

Two designs for a triumphal arch to mark the entrance from Westminster to the city at Temple Bar were prepared for the authorities of the City of London (1636–8), one in Jones's hand and the other in Webb's (Figure 40). Once more Jones established a perfect geometric outline for the design, again based on a square. If constructed, this arch might have formed a solar gateway to the city, both designs being based on the arch of the solar emperor, Constantine (Constantine's arch in Rome carries bas-reliefs representing dedications to Apollo and Diana). Jones's study of this arch is recorded in his two editions of Serlio.⁴⁷ As has been noted, the Stuart kings in attempting to found a second Rome and New Jerusalem naturally identified themselves with Constantine on account of his supposed British birth and his role as the first emperor to

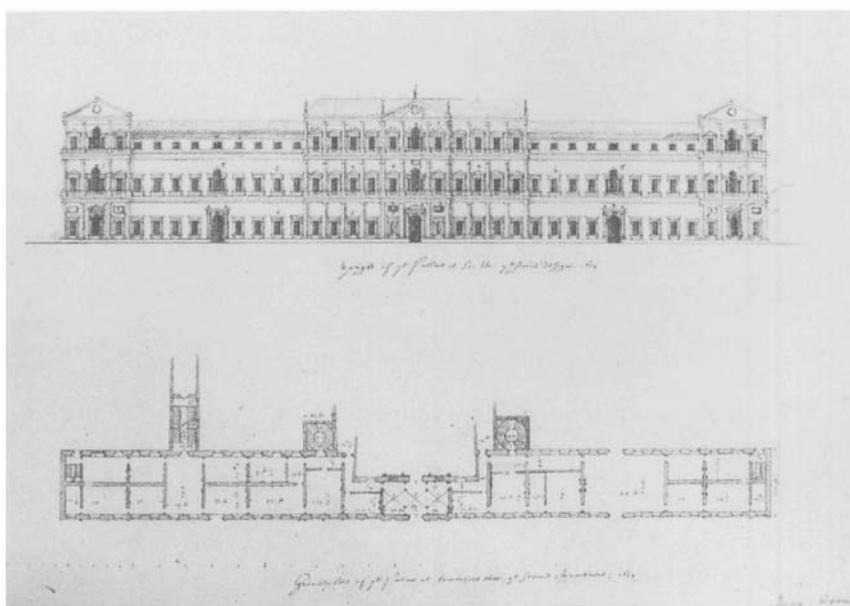


Figure 39 Two designs by Jones for new façades to buildings on the Strand: New Exchange (top) (1608), drawn by Jones (R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection); Somerset House (bottom) (1638), drawn by Webb (Worcester College, Oxford). (The British Architectural Library, R.I.B.A., London, and courtesy of the Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford.)

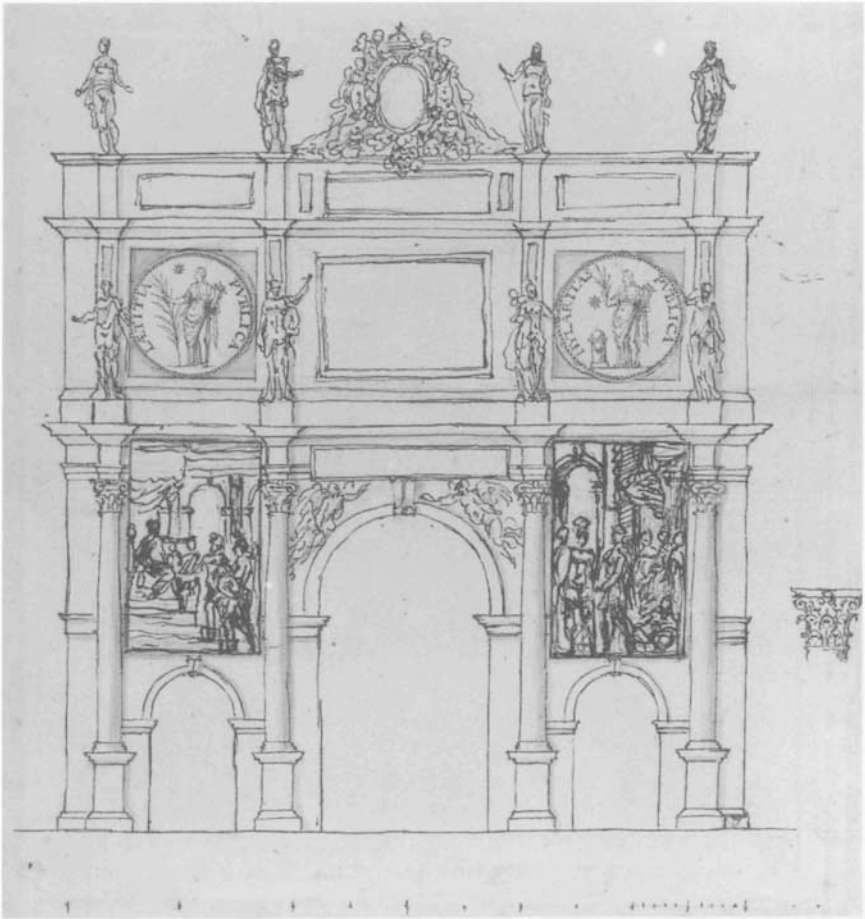


Figure 40 Jones's designs for an arch at Temple Bar (1636–7).
(The British Architectural Library, R.I.B.A., London.)

embrace Christianity. Jones's arch would therefore have publicly proclaimed the refounding of Stuart London in emulation of imperial Rome. Flanked by a statue of Neptune on the left and Ceres on the right, an equestrian statue of Charles surmounted the arch in Webb's design, a norm of imperial symbolism but here clad in armour following the costume of the ancient Britons in masque. Unlike the arches of 1604, which were used sequentially, Jones's arch mirrored the original Roman use of an arch as a symbolic gateway, passage through which signalled the emperor's sovereignty over the city. Through the statue of Neptune and relief panels bearing emblems of shipping, this arch not only celebrated the imperial virtues of Britain's sea power but also carried a specific political message. For at that time Charles was engaged in a conflict with the city over contributions towards the cost

of the navy in its role of protecting commerce, and the payment of ship money represented one of the main themes of Davenant's masque *Britannia Triumphans* of the same year as this design, 1638.⁴⁸ Jones's scheme can be understood in this context, for in passing through this arch the absolute solar monarch would signify his victory over the city on this issue. Indeed, in the following masque, Davenant's *Luminalia* (1638), Charles's victory was celebrated through the Neoplatonic imagery of light subjecting darkness. Through the design of this arch Jones clearly demonstrates both the emblematic nature of his built work and its consolidation of temporary decorations, recalling as it did the final coronation arch which had stood in the same position in 1604.

Finally, as the object of the triumphal journey itself and the most important focus of Stuart attempts to proclaim publicly a new Golden Age, Jones's refaced cathedral represented the ultimate achievement of Stuart rule presented on the route, the restoration of the 'true' ancient theology expressed in stone. Indeed, *Britannia Triumphans* interprets Jones's image of a 'restored' St Paul's as an emblem 'for all of great Britain' (line 62). Jones's new cathedral portico would have provided a dramatic, triumphal conclusion to the royal procession. This west façade fronted one of the main ceremonial spaces in London, the extension of which numbered amongst Jones's first acts when building work began in 1633, with, as Dugdale reports, 'the Houses adjoining to, and neer the Church, being compounded for, and pulled down'.⁴⁹ This controversial clearance⁵⁰ was motivated as much by the practical need to open up this processional space as by the need to dignify the cathedral. Thus the area fronting the west end, including that under Jones's portico, can be understood to have been consciously designed as a stage for the enactment of Court rituals such as the solar Triumph.

It was noted earlier that a royal procession to St Paul's in 1620 had itself provided the medium for James's announcement of cathedral restoration plans. Stow's *Chronicle* recorded that:

The next Sunday being Midlent Sunday, the King in great state came from White-hall to *Paules* Church, accompanied with Prince *Charles*, many of the chiefe nobility, and seven or eight Bishops, and at Temple barre, the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and Recorder, received him, and presented him with a purse of gold, and from thence attended him to *Paules*. . . at the great West dore of *Paules*. . . [James] kneeled, and having ended his Orisons, he was received by the Deane and Chapter of that Church, being all in rich Capes, the Canopy was supported by the Arch Deacons of the Diocesse.

(Stow 1631–2:1033)

Here Bishop King reported that James progressed 'from his Court to this Cross...with a kinde of sacred pompe and procession'.⁵¹ We catch a further

glimpse of such processions in a contemporary illustration by Henry Farley. The first of Farley's series of appeals for cathedral repair issued between 1616 and 1622 directly addressed to James consisted of three panels, one seeming to record, in advance, the 1620 royal procession and preaching at Paul's Cross (Figure 41). Whilst urging the king to reface the cathedral, this panel portrayed Whitehall Palace linked by a procession to St Paul's. This illustrates the significance of the general idea of such royal processions to the planned refacing. (For why else would Farley record a procession which in 1616 had not yet taken place?) It also emphasised the intentions behind the restoration, representing a programme to glorify the goal of these royal progresses and to consolidate a traditional decorated route, whilst making permanent the monarch's divine, solar virtues which were displayed on such occasions. When seen as the object of the progress, the resurfaced St Paul's further reinforced the king's authority over both the City of London and its temple. Indeed, the refacing itself incorporated the iconography of the Triumph, for in recasting the nave Jones topped the Order on the façades with 'vast Pineapples',⁵² associated in imperial imagery with the Triumph.⁵³ Jones's palm leaves on his first design for the cathedral west face, when imagined at the conclusion of the Triumph, recalled those laid before Christ on his progress through Jerusalem, whilst as emblems of peace they served as additional reminders of the monarch's role as a Christian prince and sponsor of the renewed imperial Golden Age. Mantegna's epic, *The Triumph of Caesar*, which was purchased by Charles I, pictured the emperor progressing with palm leaves in his hand.

In this way, through a series of new ordered façades applied to existing buildings fronting a traditional royal route, the Stuarts intended to celebrate the imposition of their rule on established medieval institutions. This work celebrated the king himself with the Banqueting House at old Whitehall Palace, commerce with the New Exchange and Covent Garden, the queen with Somerset House, the city and its companies with Temple Bar, and the church with old St Paul's. In 'radiating' the virtues of monarchy through their geometry and proportions, these new façades were planned to embody permanently the solar theme of the progress itself. Indeed in the cathedral 'restoration' sermon of 1620 the Bishop of London declared that Solomon's temple was 'the strongest and stateliest pile of building that ever the eyes of the Sunne looked upon', and that in succession a temple was to be raised at St Paul's befitting 'the body of the King, the morning & mid-day influence of that *glorious Sun*'.⁵⁴

ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL AND THE MAGICAL TEMPLE TO APOLLO IN NEW TROY

In encircling the old cathedral from the east to the west, medieval processions at St Paul's made an explicit reference to the sun.⁵⁵ Astrology, dominated by

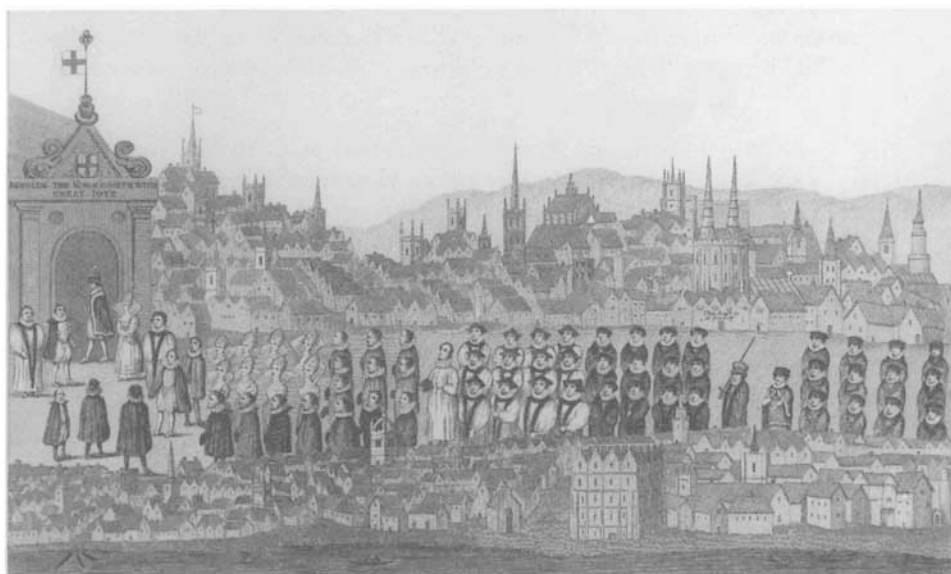


Figure 41a St Paul's Cathedral and the Royal Progress according to Henry Farley, 1616. *Figure 41b* Detail of Progress. (Courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries, London.)

the phases of the sun and moon, played a significant role in medieval church ritual, with the signs of the zodiac representing a common decoration in churches.⁵⁶ Early Christianity in Britain was itself frequently seen as a solar religion since, according to Diodorus Siculus, every nineteen years Apollo had visited a 'northern isle' where there was 'both a magnificent sacred precinct of Apollo and a notable temple...spherical in shape'.⁵⁷ This was naturally identified as Stonehenge. Michael Drayton made reference to the importance of Apollo to the ancient Britons in his *Poly-Olbion* (1613); it was noted in Chapter 2 that, with its dedication to Prince Henry, Drayton's work proclaimed the Stuart mythology of Albion, comprising native Cabalism, London presented as the original archbishopric, a British-born Constantine, and the virtues of an antique culture provided by Roman occupation but traced back to Brute's conquest. Drayton speculated on the etymology of the name London:

I could imagine, it might be cald at first *Lhan Dien.i. the Temple* of Diana, as *Lhan-Dewi*...and so afterward by strangers turned into *Londinium*, and the like. For, that *Diana* and her brother *Apollo* (under name of *Belin*) were two great Deities among the *Britons*, where is read next before, *Caesars* testimony of the *Gaules*; and that she had her Temple there where *Paules* is, relation in *Camden* discloses to you.

(Drayton 1613: VIII, 126)

This followed a popular myth that a temple dedicated to Diana had once stood on the site of St Paul's,⁵⁸ subsequently echoed by Jones when claiming that a Roman temple was buried under the cathedral. Diana's temple was to feature in Bishop Richard Corbet's sermon of 1634 praising cathedral restoration:

it was once dedicat to Diana, at least some Part of it; but the Idolatry lasted not long, and see a Mystery in the Chandge St Pauls confuting twice that idol, there in person—where the crye was, '*Greate is Diana of the Ephesians!*' and here, by Proxy, Paul installed while againe Diana is thrust out. It did magnify the Creation, that it was taken out of Darkness. Light is not the clearer for that, but it is the stranger and more wonderfull.

(Simpson 1880:134–9)

Corbet here presented the site of the cathedral as having undergone a masque-like transformation from darkness to light, a process about to be repeated by the Stuart resurfacing. In this way propaganda for the refacing of the cathedral linked Jones's proposed 'antique' restoration to a local history: a restoration of the ancient pure solar religion of St Paul on the site of a Roman temple dedicated to Diana, goddess of the moon and prophetess of Brute's Albion.

There was, however, a precedent for the Stuart attempt to found a Christian temple to Apollo in London. Drayton further reported that in antiquity there was a kindred shrine to Apollo at Westminster, and here official Stuart history once again echoed Geoffrey of Monmouth who recorded that a magical temple to Apollo had once stood in New Troy. For the ninth king of Britain, a magician named Bladud, had 'tried to go upon the top of the air, when he fell upon the temple of Apollo in the city of New Troy, and was dashed into many pieces'.⁵⁹ Bladud featured in James's official genealogy, as part of the attempt to justify the Stuart succession by Heywood in his *TROIA BRITANICA* (1609) and by Thomas Lyte in his royal tree of 1610 in which Apollo's temple itself is pictured (Figure 42).⁶⁰ Hence as the cornerstone of the attempt at physical restoration of the Platonic virtues of this ancestry, Stuart St Paul's followed in succession to Geoffrey's temple to Apollo in New Troy. Indeed, Thomas Dekker's *London's Tempe* (1629) presented the Stuart capital with a palace of Apollo, whilst in Jonson's *The Masque of Augurs* (1622) London was pictured by Jones as the setting for a magical porticoed temple to Apollo, for here Apollo 'can...with his voyce, /Reare townes' (lines 276–7), and, 'with my music,/A college here,/Of tuneful augurs, whose divining skill/ Shall wait thee still' (lines 316–20). With the cathedral foundation ceremony and Jones's report of unearthed ox skulls recalling the Roman magical ritual of augury,⁶¹ through the poetic presentation of the resurfacing as 'harmony in sound' the cathedral can be seen as just such a musical temple to Apollo. This theme was reflected in aspects of the remodelling by the Laudians of the 'college' of clergy at St Paul's, since their revival of rituals including inauguration ceremonies echoed the 'tuneful augurs' who had themselves been ancient Roman clergy and priests of Augustan Rome.⁶² Indeed Charles was cast in this masque as a 'princely augur' (line 399). This would also agree with the identification in Stuart propaganda of the Garter Knights with Roman Senators,⁶³ with Jonson hailed as the 'English Horace'⁶⁴ and London itself resurfaced in the image of antiquity as the second Rome.

The solar theme can be identified in the circular profile of Jones's planned city architecture, echoing the circular solar metaphors of Court and church propaganda. In Marcelline's *Triumphs* (1610), for example, following the notion that James was the 'common father' of his people 'like unto the *Geometrical* point, which beholdeth all his circumference in one & the same proportion', his rule was Answerable to the Sun, which shineth equally upon all'.⁶⁵ John Donne was cathedral dean from 1621 and a friend of Jones.⁶⁶ Through his sermons, St Paul's became the setting for Donne's new philosophy, involving the use of imagery derived from Neoplatonism, Copernican astronomy, and Paracelsian and Hippocratic medicine.⁶⁷ The sun frequently featured in Donne's poetry, 'The Sunne Rising' (c. 1603) being perhaps the most notable example.⁶⁸ Donne identified Christ with the sun, whilst the circle was referred to as representing the archetypal symbol of God's unity and totality in his sermons and the *Songs and Sonnets*.⁶⁹



Figure 42 King Bladud and Geoffrey's Temple of Apollo in 'New Troy' or London. Detail of royal genealogy prepared for James I by Thomas Lyte in 1610. (Courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.)

The Dean told his congregation at St Paul's that 'One of the most convenient Hieroglyphicks of God, is a Circle, and a Circle is end-lesse; His Sun and Moone and Stars move circularly'.⁷⁰ Hence we might assume that any cathedral scheme advanced by Jones which intended to evoke the power of divine mysteries and light of God through a geometry of circles and triangles would have found sympathy with Donne in his role as guardian of the fabric.⁷¹ Indeed, Donne was obviously not alone in delivering sermons at St Paul's which made reference to light expressed through Platonic forms: James's cathedral restoration sermon, in which the king's solar body featured as a metaphor for the project, was delivered on 26 March 1620, and represented

the first sermon delivered at Pauls Cross in that year; in June Michael Wigmore, Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, preached a sermon dedicated to Francis Bacon at Pauls Cross, in which proof of the Trinity was taught through the Book of Nature, and represented in the Trinity-in-unity of the soul's faculties together with the sun and moon and the 'light of the Ayre, proceeding from them both';⁷² and the year closed with a preacher making reference to the circular figure as a 'Hieroglyphique', or 'mysticall representation of the revolution of the yeere'.⁷³

Following this hieroglyphic geometry, Stuart iconography can also be seen to proclaim the cathedral as a temple to the British royal sun. The design of Donne's tomb in the cathedral, for example, has been related to his objective of 'refounding' St Paul's at the centre of the heliocentric cosmology which animated the image of an Apollonian Christ expressed in his sermons.⁷⁴ Jones's unexecuted façade design reflected this theme in an actual solar icon, the I.H.S. sunburst. Such a link between the created light of the sun and moon and the higher, brighter light of the creation itself, expressed through the sacred name, was illustrated in the emblematic frontispiece to James's Authorised Version of the Bible (1611) (Figure 43). In line with Court art, Laudian iconography frequently featured the sun as an emblem of the Reformed religion,⁷⁵ thus reflecting the supposed origins of the church in ancient Britain with its solar worship. In the citadel of ultra-Laudianism,⁷⁶ Peterhouse in Cambridge, for example, the arched ceiling of the new chapel was painted sky-blue, whilst each coffer contained the emblem of a golden, burning sun.

Perhaps the most striking public manifestation of the Laudian policy of beauty in holiness was Jones's cathedral portico added to the west face, composed as it was of eighteen columns of the Corinthian Order. As befitted its position at the termination of the solar Triumph, this portico obviously faced the setting sun. Indeed, with the old cathedral more correctly orientated than Wren's St Paul's, the east-west corner carried new sundials (dialling was a magico-mathematical art and dials were themselves used as solar symbols in the Renaissance garden).⁷⁷ This portico was based on Palladio's Roman Temple of the Sun and Moon (Book IV, Chapter 10), as a simple comparison reveals: whilst neither portico has a pediment, they have an identical line of statues, an identical central window trio and an identical line of columns of the same Order (Figure 44).⁷⁸ Jones's Palladio records his detailed study of the portico to the Temple of the Sun and Moon and that he visited the site itself.⁷⁹ He also copied this temple in his designs for the coffered vault of the Queen's Chapel at St James's Palace (1623) and for the new Star Chamber in Westminster Palace (1617); this was appropriate since this chamber for the dispensing of Stuart justice was adorned with a huge star on its ceiling and was hailed the 'eighth room of our celestial mansion' in masque.⁸⁰ Stuart justice was thereby presented as a direct reflection of the natural order of the macrocosm.

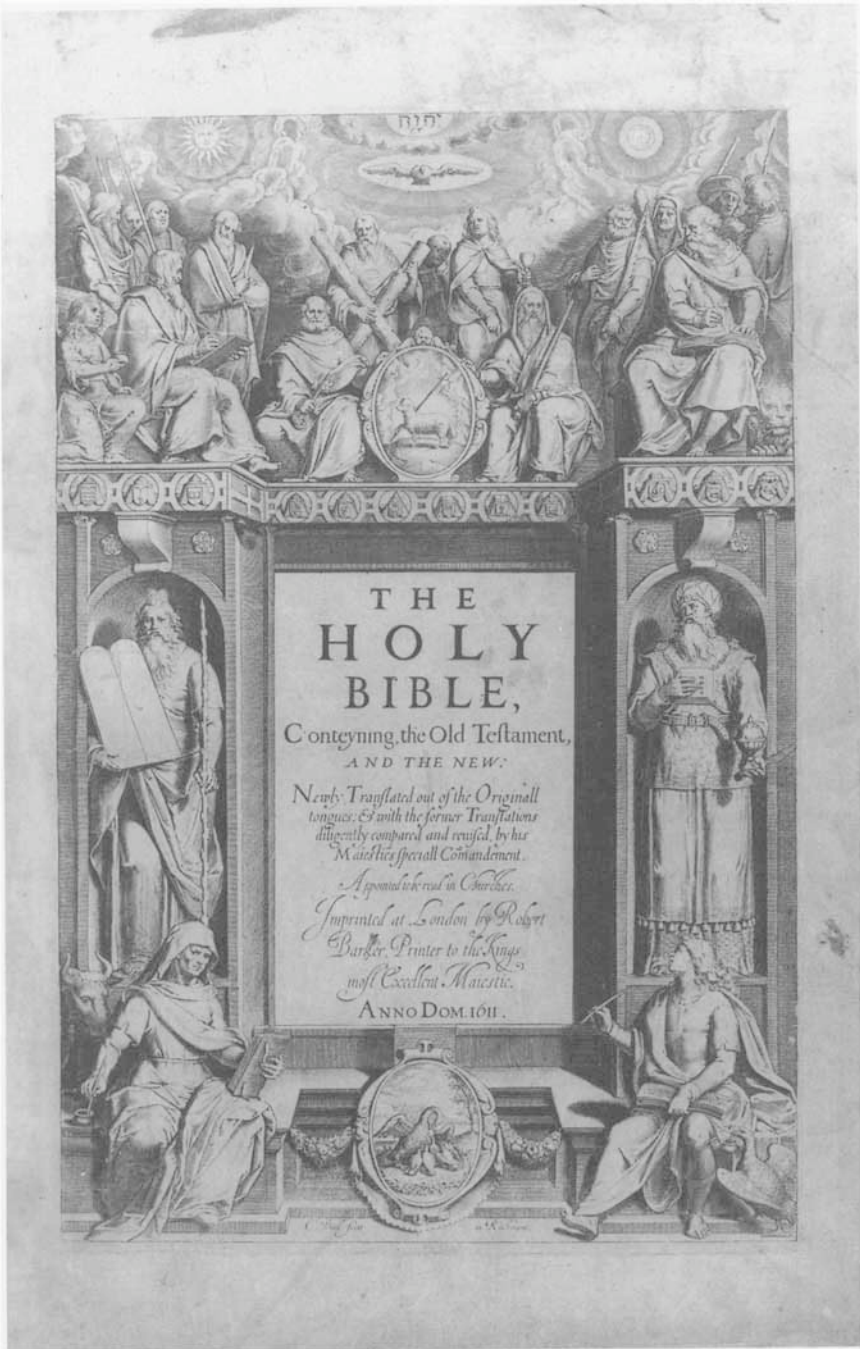


Figure 43 Emblematic frontispiece to James's Authorised Version of the Bible (1611). (Courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.)

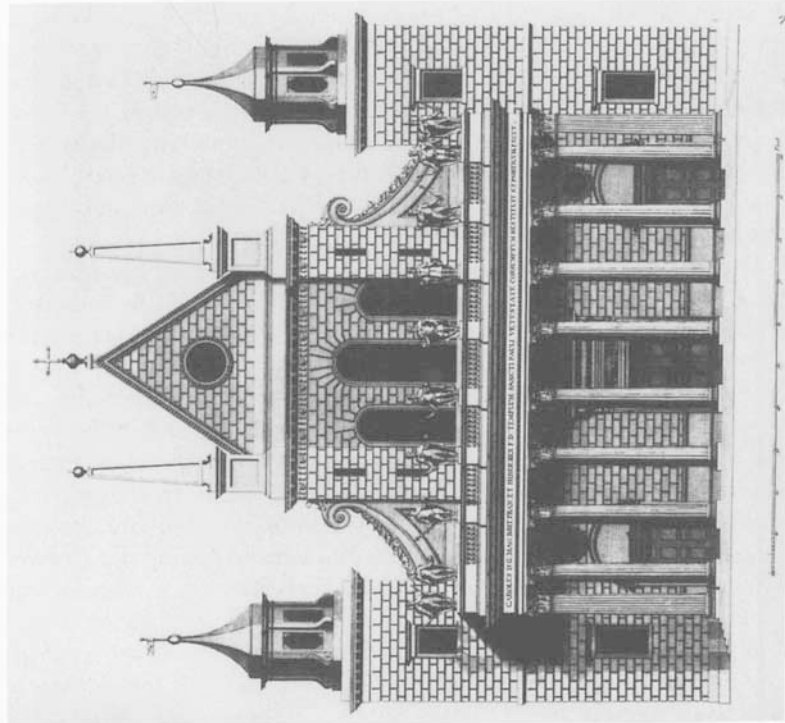
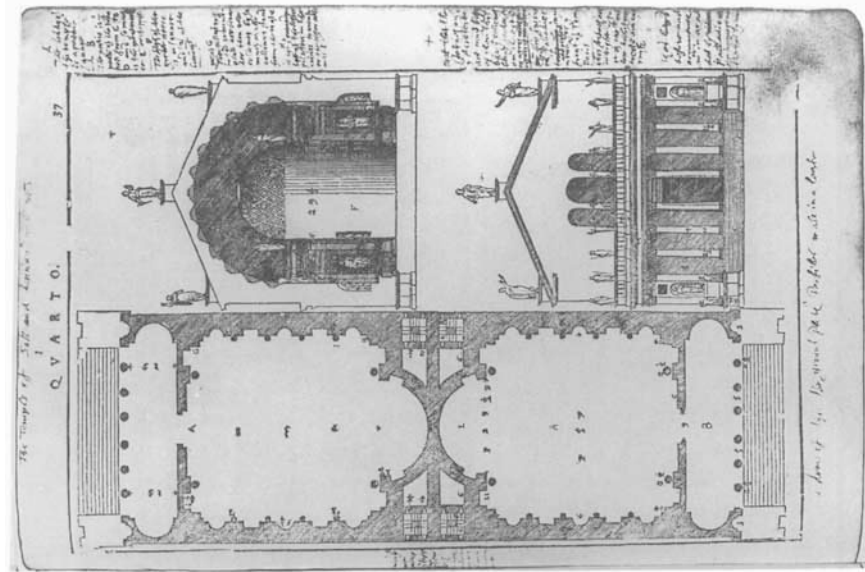


Figure 44 Palladio's temple to the Sun and Moon (Book IV, Chapter 10, pl.22-3), from Jones's annotated copy (left) (Worcester College, Oxford) in comparison with the west face of St Paul's (right). (Courtesy of the Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford.)

As the setting for the reception of the sun king by the clergy on the occasion of the Triumph and with Palladio's temple as its source, Jones's cathedral portico reaffirmed Charles's role as a solar monarch, as well as his, and Henrietta Maria's, identification with the moon. This represented a fusion of the Stuart king with his queen and the monarch's Protestant role as both emperor (sun) and Pope (moon). Such a reading would have been reinforced by the legend of Geoffrey's magical temple to Apollo and of a Romano-British temple to Diana having once stood on the site. Indeed, such authenticity based on the idea of refounding a Romano-British temple had been achieved in Jones's earlier façade design through its embodiment of the geometry used to 'restore' Stonehenge, comprising a circle and triangle which equally expressed the royal body as a 'glorious sun'. Jones's portico itself reflected Stonehenge since he identified such 'uncovered' Romano-British ruins with '*Coelus, and to the Sun, and to the Moon*'.⁸¹ Incidentally, in his Palladio Jones noted that this antique portico was taken in part from the Temple of Peace in Rome.⁸² This temple, also known as the Basilica of Maxentius, was generally believed in the Renaissance to have been the repository of the plundered treasures of the temple of Solomon.⁸³ Indeed, as emblems heralding the renewed Stuart Golden Age, and with their specific association with Solomon and Christ, the Orders themselves would have represented royal solar virtues. Perhaps significantly, given Dee's applications of Vitruvius, two antique columns bear symbols of the sun and moon in his emblematic frontispiece to the *Monas hieroglyphica* (1564). As Chapter 3 noted, such Elizabethan frontispieces represent early examples of the coherent use of the Orders, and here provided more than just a framework for the *Monas* in becoming an explanation and illustration of it.⁸⁴

Through the erection of obelisks at important sites, in 1586 Sixtus V had sought a permanent translation of Rome into a radiant city animated by the light of God, a new Heliopolis, following the example of Constantine. Jones would have known of this through Constantino de Servi, who had worked for Sixtus V in 1585, and through Bolton's gift to him of Giovanni Bordini's engraved *De Rebus Praeclare Gestis a Sixto V Pont. Max.* (1588) (with Bolton's inscription hailing Jones as a 'new Mercury', patron of the arts).⁸⁵ It was exactly this method of overlay which the Stuarts used in their attempts to establish medieval London as the capital of the British church. On the cathedral nave and transepts Jones placed obelisks against the skyline, each supporting a sun orb at its apex (Figure 45).⁸⁶ Obelisks had themselves frequently been used as symbols of solar rays in Egypt (at Heliopolis) and in imperial Rome.⁸⁷ In the emblematic frontispiece to Jean Jacques Boissard's *Theatrum vitae humanae* (printed at Metz in 1596 by Theodore De Bry) an obelisk rises from an earthly hell to touch the heavenly illumination of the godhead. For a similar link between obelisks and solar illumination in British royal iconography we need look no further than the emblematic frontispiece to James's *Works* (1616), in which the four crowns represent a particularly

British symbolism (see Figure 13).⁸⁸ On the occasion of James's entry in 1604, in heralding the 'new Augustus' the Triumph passed an emblem of the sun and moon between two obelisks, whilst as part of the sun and moon symbolism employed to celebrate the 'alchemical' wedding of Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine in 1613, an obelisk of silver was flanked by golden statues of the royal couple.⁸⁹ It was noted in Chapter 2 that the Arthurian Vitruvianism 'revived' by Jones assumed the power to elevate the Court to the celestial realm, Jonson's *Barriers* having presented 'Those obelisks and columns broke and down/That struck the stars, and raised the British crown/To be a constellation.../Outstriding the Colossus of the sun' (lines 38–40, 61). Perhaps it was hoped that the obelisks set against the sky at St Paul's would possess similar powers.

In projecting London as the New Jerusalem and Rome it was clearly hoped that the whole city would eventually be transformed, like St Paul's, into a surface unity. Following the route taken by the royal procession, in linking Jones's geometric *Idea* for the proposed palace at Whitehall to that at St Paul's Cathedral, one of the means by which such a unified vision was to be achieved becomes apparent. In monitoring the effect of James's building proclamations, royal commissions in 1619 and 1625 (continuing until 1642) controlled the plans for new houses, with the view to introducing uniformity in urban design.⁹⁰ As part of this the streets radiating from Jones's cathedral to the west down Ludgate Hill and to the east down Cheapside and Lombard Street were cleared in an effort to extend the cathedral's radial presence into the Stuart capital.⁹¹ Davenant's *Britannia Triumphans* (1638) proclaimed this new radiance, with the cathedral drawn opposite the sun king, with perspective lines or rays of light emanating from it (see Figure 9). This image equally indicates the desire to open up distant city views of old St Paul's in an unprecedented city plan for London with the cathedral at its centre. In this masque London itself became an emblem for perfected nature, with transformed St Paul's as its focus, whilst in contrast the anti-masquers emerged from 'a horrid hell...the nearer part expressing the suburbs' (lines 231–3), that is an area of wilderness outside but defining the city.⁹² Even this was to be transformed, for as a symbol for the whole country, the 'restored' Stuart sun temple was intended to radiate its Platonic virtue throughout the macrocosm.

Indeed, the old cathedral had itself formed the focus of attention within an earlier Neoplatonic vision for London. Giordano Bruno's *La cena de le ceneri* (1584) had purported to record a supper at Fulke Greville's house⁹³ with Philip Sidney in attendance, at which Bruno disputed with two Oxford doctors concerning his Copernican-Hermetic philosophy.⁹⁴ The Protestants Sidney and Greville were probably receptive to debates on magical and astronomical reform, familiar as both were with Dee,⁹⁵ but Bruno abhorred the conservative effects of the Reformation upon English society in general. In the second dialogue, old St Paul's was used by Bruno as an example of national decay when deriding 'those who aim to cheat whomever comes to

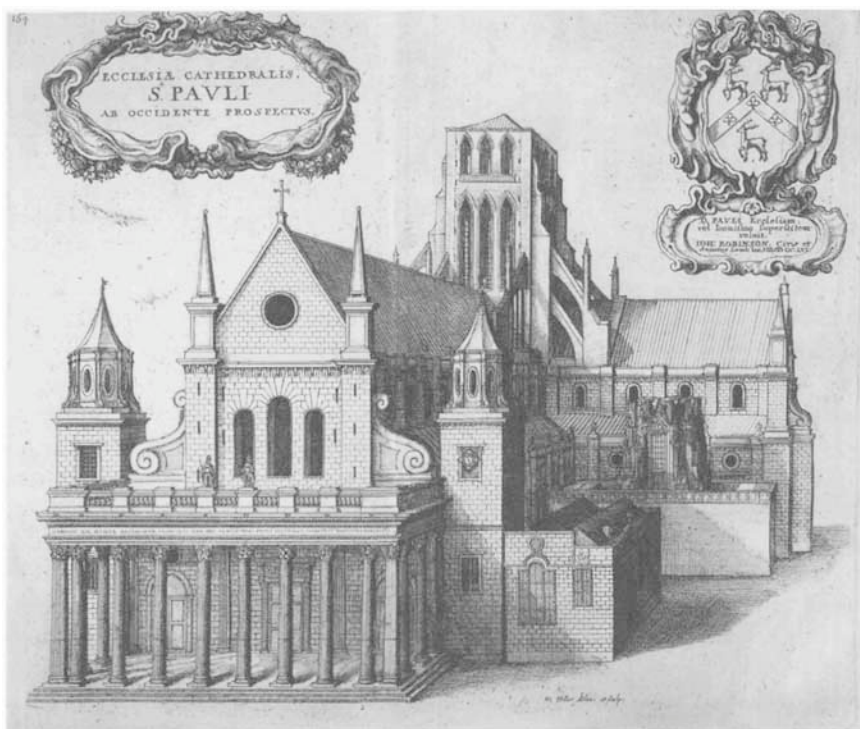


Figure 45 Inigo Jones's cathedral according to Hollar published in Dugdale's *The History of St Paul's Cathedral in London*, London (1658). (Courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.)

pick them up where they hang out, that is, the columns of the Exchange and the portals of St Paul's'.⁹⁶ Bruno does not, however, leave the cathedral in this state. When, in the fourth dialogue, one of the disputing Oxford doctors asked where the apogee of the sun lies, Bruno replied that it is anywhere it pleased the doctor to imagine, continuing by noting rhetorically that the sun 'is about the twentieth degree of Cancer, and the opposition is about the one-hundred-tenth degree of Capricorn, or above the bell-tower of St Pauls'.⁹⁷ This reply has been suggested by Frances Yates as the solar key to Bruno's whole message, for 'the sun is in Cancer in summer, in Capricorn in winter. Is it summer over the steeple of St Paul's or winter? Are we in the warmth and light of summer or in the darkness and cold of winter?'⁹⁸ In this interpretation the physical state of the cathedral is shown to be a national symbol for Bruno's vision of Hermetic enlightenment and reform. Under the Stuarts old St Paul's was indeed finally transformed into a temple to solar Platonic virtue, expressed at first through a circular profile on the façade and later through a portico based on Palladio's Temple to the Sun and Moon. Greville was to serve alongside Jones on the 1620 restoration committee

in his capacity as 'under-Treasurer'⁹⁹ and may well have remembered Bruno's solar vision dedicated to him.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, the transformation of the decayed cathedral was planned in the context of a Court policy towards peace and Catholic union which echoed Bruno's apparent aspirations. The Court poetry of Edmund Waller often described the monarchy bathed in heavenly light, since 'the light which now informs our age/Breaks from the court'.¹⁰¹ In Waller's verse on the restoration of St Paul's, the cathedral was alluded to as a sun temple in a conclusion which celebrated the heavenly course of the sun over Jones's new cathedral façades, and the west front in particular:

The Sun which riseth to salute the quire
 Already finish'd, setting shall admire
 How private bounty could so far extend,
 The King built all, but Charles the western end.
 (Waller 1784:67)

STUART LONDON AND THE MNEMONIC 'CITY OF THE SUN'

It was pointed out that the occult art of artificial memory relied on the sequential use of emblems within an architectural setting. The workings of this art suggest a clue as to the layout of the Renaissance imagination itself. It is possible that Renaissance princes planned and furnished their palaces and gardens as a kind of living memory system, through which in elaborate arrangements of place and images, all knowledge, the whole encyclopaedia, could be stored in memory.¹⁰² Here we are reminded of Whitehall Palace, where hundreds of antique statues and busts, bought from the Duke of Mantua in 1627, adorned the gardens.¹⁰³ The sequential presentation of emblematically conceived buildings along a prescribed route in the city, culminating at a temple, also owed something to this mnemonic tradition, as did the temporary arches built for royal entries of the type used by James in 1604. In forming a complete linear presentation of the virtues of the monarch to the city, these arches were akin to the role of the architectural settings in the moving talisman of masque which, Chapter 3 noted, made visible the workings of artificial memory. Perhaps this mnemonic tradition influenced and provided a particular force to the planned sequential display of royal statues and emblems at Temple Bar and St Paul's. Elsewhere, the 'restoration' of the Temple of Lyon utilised a sequential presentation of mnemonic emblems, also culminating at a temple.¹⁰⁴ An Elizabethan conception of the city as a kind of processional memory theatre was to be found in William Fulwood's *The Castel of Memorie* (1562):

no man is ignorant of the situation of the Citie where he was borne, or
 in the whiche he hath longe dwelled. Therefore when the mynde

entreteth in at the gate, whiles it considereth the diversitie of wayes, directing and leading to divers countreyes, and whiles it remembreth frendes houses, publike dwellinge places, Palaces, or comon places of Judgement, it shall fynde out a marveylous number of places. Hereto also it maye imagine great courtes or palaces of larger rounge, wherein it may devise as great a number of places as it listeth, so that every thing may be written therein that he will have.

(Fulwood 1562: VII, 3)

Jones's planned architecture on the royal route through London can be seen as linked both visibly by the display of the Orders and invisibly through its embodiment of Platonic forms, the circle and triangle (at Whitehall and St Paul's) and the square or its multiple (at the New Exchange and Temple Bar). The cherubim and geometry identified in Jones's scheme at St Paul's have been traced back to Stonehenge as his imaginary 'theatre', in comprising the geometric groundplot or *Idea* of his work. As a storehouse of emblems of cosmological virtue and the British origin to which he traced his 'antique manner', the otherwise unique Stonehenge 'theatre' may have had for Jones a function much like an imaginary theatre of the mind. Having sought James's approval through the royal dedication in the first volume of the *Utriusque Cosmi...Historia*, Fludd's second volume outlining the workings of his memory theatre was published in 1619—that is, just before Jones's Stonehenge survey and first cathedral design. This is not to say that Jones's Stonehenge was intended as a memory theatre, merely that an operative parallel may be seen in the way memory theatres were used to store emblems and the way Jones built up emblematic virtue at Stonehenge (in overlaying the Tuscan Order, Valeriano's emblematic geometry and invisible cherubim, for example). The mnemonic systems of Camillo and Fludd clearly added further virtue to the Vitruvian theatre geometry used by Jones at Stonehenge, and it is to a component of artificial memory that Jones refers when employing Valeriano's emblematics to form this 'theatre' plan. Jones's Stonehenge 'restoration' and mnemonic theatres both represent compatible patterns of Renaissance thought, as was discussed in Chapter 5.

The sun was central to the occult memory theatres of Camillo and Fludd, but solar mnemonic virtues were made most explicit in Tommaso Campanula's *Civitas Solis*, first written in Italian in 1602, rewritten in Latin in 1613–14 and finally published in Frankfurt in 1623.¹⁰⁵ A Latin version was published in London in 1643 whilst certain parts of Campanella's work were translated into English in the middle of the seventeenth century, and these influenced a number of prominent Stuarts.¹⁰⁶ In placing a temple at the core of a geometrically planned city in *Civitas Solis*, Campanella followed the general Renaissance ideal. More specifically, here the temple became central to the whole city conceived as a memory theatre. As a utopia of astral magic, the 'City of the Sun' embodied the order of creation, for at its centre lay a

circular sun temple painted with images of the stars which was surrounded by concentric walls on which emblems represented the various stages of creation.¹⁰⁷ Situated as St Paul's Cathedral was at a point of prominence within the medieval City of London, and with the buildings obscuring its façades having been cleared by Jones, it was perhaps hoped that through the 'restoration' of a building of such central eminence the whole city would feel the warmth of its solar virtue following the pattern of Campanella's utopia. The concept of Laud's clergy as solarian priests, emphasised by their golden copes, the only vestments to have survived the Reformation, obviously mirrored the clergy in the *Civitas Solis*.¹⁰⁸

The power of the sun was thought essential to the workings of a talisman and hence to that of seals and emblems, in their unification of the earthly with the heavenly sphere, when imagined within these astral mnemonic theatres. The celestial forces borne on air, or *spiritus*, were considered to be strongest in the sun. According to Ficino, anything which imitated the form of an astral body would attract its influence, and talismans were shaped more perfectly than natural objects, thereby attracting a more powerful influx of *spiritus* than substances unaltered by art.¹⁰⁹ In seeking to order Renaissance architecture in the image of cosmic harmony, specific harmonic ratios and Platonic forms might well have been used in order to attract such power. Indeed, the second book of Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia* described the evocation of celestial deities through mathematics, geometrical forms, and images of the zodiac and the planets. Such astral influences were the natural subject of astrology, Dee noting on this art that it 'reasonably demonstrateth the operations and effectes of the naturall beames of light, and secrete Influence of the Planets, and fixed Starres, in every Element and Elementall body: at all times, in any Horizon assigned'.¹¹⁰ In the course of describing the workings of his memory theatre, John Willis outlined such astral connections between the celestial and elemental worlds:

So of the rayes (which are as it were exhalations) of celestial bodies, there is generated a certain substance, called Quintessence, which by commixion with the four Elements, through their tenacity, groweth into one with them, whereby they are altered, and indewed with new forms, according to the disposition of the matter into which those celestial rayes are converged, the hand of the Almighty directing them.
(Willis 1618:109)

It was noted in Chapter 5 that through reference to astrology, foundation ceremonies for buildings commonly sought the blessing of constellations for the new structure. One of the most important antique Hermetic texts, the *Asclepius*, purports to describe the religion of the Egyptians and the magic ceremonies by which they drew down astral powers, those of the sun in particular, to animate the statues of their gods.¹¹¹ Further, in the fourth book of

the Arabic source book on magic, the *Picatrix*,¹¹² Hermes is credited with the first use of such magic images and, in foreshadowing Campanella's city, with the founding in Egypt of an astral utopia comprising a temple and solar city,

This man also built a temple to the Sun, and he knew how to hide himself from all so that no one could see him, although he was within it. It was he, too, who in the east of Egypt constructed a City twelve miles long within which he constructed a castle which had four gates in each of its four parts. On the eastern gate he placed the form of an Eagle; on the western gate, the form of a Bull; on the southern gate the form of a Lion, and on the northern gate he constructed the form of a Dog. Into these images he introduced spirits which spoke with voices, nor could anyone enter the gates of the City except by their permission...Around the circumference of the City he placed engraved images and ordered them in such a manner that by their virtue the inhabitants were made virtuous and withdrawn from all wickedness and harm.

(IV, 3)

Renaissance garden automata sought to recreate these statues of Hermetic mythology, worked as they frequently were by the sun. Such animated statues are alluded to in Shakespeare's plays and later in Stuart masque, with masquers themselves moving from frozen positions into dance.¹¹³ In Francis Beaumont's *Masque of the Inner Temple*, part of the series for Princess Elizabeth's wedding celebrations in 1613, silver-clad knights are invited by Apollo's priests to 'Shake off your heavy trance,/And leap into a dance/ Such as no mortals use to tread,/Fit only for Apollo/To play to, for the moon to lead' (lines 322–6).¹¹⁴ Jonson's *Mercury Vindicated* (1616) featured Prometheus, who, as the first sculptor, had possessed the power to make such living statues, whilst the figure of Daedalus, master image-maker and creator of automata,¹¹⁵ appeared in his *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (1618); in this way the skills of both artists were celebrated as having been revived by the Stuart monarchy

Indeed, the plan of the Court masque as a whole can be pictured as one vast moving talisman, with emblematic figures in diverse colours moving amongst incantatory scenes designed to draw down favourable influences on the British Court—the influences of fortunate stars, the most powerful of which was the sun. In announcing the mythology of Charles's Court, Jonson's masque *Love's Triumph through Callipolis* (1631) depended in particular on Ficino's commentary on the *Symposium* and Bruno's *Degli eroici furori*. Performed within settings designed once again by Jones, an idealised Stuart city was discovered in which the queen is told, 'Through all the streets of your Callipolis,/Which by the Splendour of your rays made bright,/The seat and region of all beauty is' (lines 71–3). Here the magic of celestial music and dance and the astral power evoked by the

solar monarch were pictured animating the earthly architectural settings in the spirit of the Hermetic solar city. And it was expected that through the triumphal progress of the sun king across his capital to his sun temple, the subjects of Stuart rule would see London itself magically transformed from medieval darkness into a radiant 'City of the Sun'.

EPILOGUE

'The heav'n of earth shall have no oddes'

APOCALYPTIC COURT ART AND ALBION'S SECOND RUIN

THE DEATH OF THE STUART SUN KING

The arts which were most directly inspired by Neoplatonic philosophy in the Renaissance, notably emblematics and artificial memory, mechanics and perspective, represent more than mere practical techniques used by Stuart Court artists, for as aspects of a lost wisdom restored they themselves were seen as vital signs of James's prophetic reunion of antique 'Great Britain' and its renaissance as God's chosen land. Echoing the invocation of Neoplatonism by theologians in support of the Reformation, important parts of this philosophy became central firstly to the justification of James's succession and later to that of Charles's absolute rule. Themes of Platonic harmony shifted from emphasising the monarch's duty to the body politic to underlining his virtues as an absolute ruler. The later Caroline masques were indeed written in support of absolutist policy, in which the illusion of magic was harnessed in the service of the Crown. However, Court Neoplatonism was also represented through the architectural Orders and heraldry, gardens, emblematic geometry, architectural proportion, city processions, and ultimately through the reordering of the capital city itself.

Whilst these Stuart art-forms publicly proclaimed the Platonic harmony of Stuart rule reflected by—but later under Charles generated from—the body of the monarch, it was the private Court masque which represented the artistic apotheosis of this harmony. Platonic harmony was here expressed in musical and emblematic form and characterised with the national legends of Arthurian magic, whilst the stage sets were worked by a background mechanics and focused by perspective. This unity in design was aided by the coherence of Platonic cosmology itself, of its three worlds and microcosm—macrocosm analogy and the facility with which this could be expressed through symbols. Such expression was achieved not only through single, formulaic symbols such as Dee's *Monas hieroglyphica* but through a whole symbolic language of emblematics which in turn found expression

in Renaissance festivals. The spirit of Inigo Jones's work was therefore not the revival of Italian antiquity as such, but instead Platonism clothed in the national legends of a magical antiquity whose heroes were Trojan Brute, Arthur, Merlin, and St George. The elements of antique architecture comprising heraldry and the Orders were proclaimed as emblems for this antiquity from the outset of Stuart rule. This was emphasised through the proportion and relationship of these elements; for from his study of Plato and Plutarch, Vitruvius and Alberti, Palladio, Scamozzi, and Lomazzo, Jones assimilated the Platonic idea that the harmony implicit in the microcosm-macrocosm analogy could be expressed through measured relationships, part to part and in turn part to the pure Platonic forms of circles, squares, and triangles. Hence architecture became the ideal art-form for the permanent realisation of this view of natural, and thereby royal, harmony glimpsed in masque.

However, magic could equally be used as an agent of reform by forces hostile to the church and state. The work of the great Puritan poet and reformer John Milton utilised the conception of Albion as a magical paradise in his advocacy first of royal reform but later of republicanism.¹ Underlying the iconoclasm of the new Puritan order was an inevitable hostility towards Neoplatonic-inspired art-forms which had expressed the Caroline theme of royal absolutism and the philosophy of Divine Right which animated it. The first of Charles's symbolic assertions of divine kingship had been in Jonson's companion masques *Love's Triumph through Callipolis* and *Chloridia* (both of 1631); no British Court after the Restoration was to use the masque as a vehicle for the cultivation of its self-image. The stage illusion of Charles's magical powers to evoke the gods, through the apparent resolution of real political problems into Platonic harmony, gave the Caroline Court an insularity and air of blind invincibility which would facilitate, if not directly cause, the Civil War itself and the iconoclasm which followed in its wake. If magic expressed in art was the key sign of royal power to the Renaissance audience, then its patron was himself not immune to delusion by these apparent talismans and a dangerous dependence on artifice to fabricate a false sense of his own magical supremacy. For Milton in *L'Allegro* (1631) Charles's Court, with its tales of fairy lore, had become a magical dream world: 'Where throngs of knights and barons bold,/In weeds of peace high triumphs hold.../And pomp, and feast, and revelry,/With masque and antique pageantry' (lines 119–20, 127–8). This blurring of dream and reality was dramatically emphasised when images of actual buildings, including the Banqueting House itself, were placed on stage. In its unrealised and destroyed state, the Stuart city ultimately proved as temporary as the masques themselves. Jones's vision of the legendary 'Fallen House' of British Neoplatonic chivalry was to become an ironic prophecy of the destruction of his own architecture, with his masque palaces as insubstantial as those of Prospero and Stuart Platonism as illusory as their defiance of gravity.

From the emphasis placed by Neoplatonists on the ideal, absolute world of the *Idea* it follows that Stuart absolutism was not only expressed by Platonic-inspired arts but was itself influenced by Platonic thinking. Absolutist policy was most obviously encouraged by the perspectival conception of space and the microcosm—macrocosm analogy when these were used to emphasise the body of the monarch. The magical, apocalyptic prophecy of a Messianic age centred on expectations of the monarch as a Christian prince, a role replete with absolutist rhetoric. Magic thus became the corollary of absolutism, the ultimate sign of absolute power. As in France, the logic of such rule led to the identification of the monarch with the ruler of the heavens, the sun. Hence the role of the Platonic sun king was enacted in Stuart masques and processions and sought more permanent representation through solar iconography in Court architecture. Here ceiling decorations, porticos, and obelisks all sought to express the idea of absolute rule conceived as a vision of light. It is hardly surprising that Jones's cathedral, as a central symbol of this vision, should be defaced by the Puritans, whilst in so doing they also destroyed the absolutist vision for the city itself represented by the royal triumphal route which the cathedral concluded.

As an emblem for the king's own view of his place in the natural order, Court art moved from projecting the prince as a reflection of cosmic order to confirming him in the role of its absolute ruler. Medieval chivalry, for example, and the arts in which chivalrous themes traditionally found expression such as heraldry and pageants, having once openly proclaimed the duties of the ruler to his people, under the Stuarts became essential to the emblematics of the closed, absolute world of Court masque. During the introduction of Renaissance art-forms in the Stuart age, the old arts were absorbed within the new, as medieval stonework practice and its associated cosmology and lore became translated into Platonic geometry and proportion, and heraldry became part of the explanation of Vitruvian design rules. However, these in turn would be eclipsed by the emergence of an increasingly scientific view of the natural world and by the age of so-called enlightenment. Despite its role in developing mechanics and its expression through linear perspective of a spatial infinity implicit in the emerging conception of the universe,² the masque itself could not be employed to express a scientifically defined universe in which the old, magical gods had no place and in which man was no longer a microcosm. A consequence of this increasing rationality is the divorce of what we now term art from science. The artistry of masque was one of the last areas of earnest cooperation between the two, outside the illusory world of popular entertainment within which the distinction continues to be blurred. Although Neoplatonism was a consistent influence on the conception and artistic presentation of their self-image, the Stuart kings in fact presided over a key phase in the 'mathematisation' of physical concepts. During this period the humanistic questioning of Geoffrey of Monmouth's national Trojan legend was paralleled by the replacement of the influence of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, after its accurate dating by a more rationalistic science. For in 1614, through the application of humanistic

methods, Isaac Casaubon had convincingly demolished the supposed early date of the *Hermetica*, with London itself forming the venue for the publication of Casaubon's work. In the same spirit, Inigo Jones's 'survey' of Stonehenge represented the first attempt to question the validity of the various medieval legends concerning the stones and their supposed magical construction. Jones's study formed part of the movement towards antiquarianism, away from the Trojan and Arthurian fables printed by William Caxton and eulogised by Michael Drayton in the cause of British monarchy.³ However, the more scientific methods of recourse to sources and archaeological survey which characterised this antiquarian assault on the legends were employed by Jones, as we have seen, to support a version of British history still reliant on the old authors. But by the time of Walter Charleton's rejection of Jones's Stonehenge theory, in 1663, Geoffrey's tale had ceased to hold any authority, for 'the Fable of *Merlin*'s Transportation of it out of *Ireland* by Witchcraft, is absurd and ridiculous'.⁴ In the context of a more scientific age, magic became an object of superstition or ridicule. Dr Johnson in his *Dictionary* (1755) under 'Cabala' quoted the opinion that Cabalistic letters 'carry more in them than it is proper for the world to be acquainted with'.

Platonism had first informed the arts of the Florentine Court of the Medici and had subsequently enjoyed a similar influence throughout the Courts of Europe, most notably that of Henry III in France, Philip II in Spain and the imperial Habsburg Court of Rudolf II. In this context the Stuart Court ironically had the distinction of marking the close, not the dawning, of the new age of enlightenment to which Neoplatonism in its Cabalistic form aspired. The loss of faith in the Platonic conception of the cosmos and in the validity of the national magical legends was paralleled by the challenge to absolutism and the consequent decline in the actual power of the king, initiated by the Civil War and confirmed by the advent of constitutional monarchy after 1688. Concepts of history, science, and state were no longer to be seen as servants of the royal image but were pursued along increasingly independent scientific or philosophical lines.⁵ This development effectively undermined the tradition of magical monarchy represented by the Elizabethan and Stuart Courts in their art, thus leaving the Court further isolated from the country and its institutions. The loss of the monarch's magical power resounds in Alexander Pope's *Rape of the Lock* (1714) in which Queen Anne, a sun goddess and second Elizabeth (as the last of Stuart blood), is shorn of her golden hair.⁶ Hence as Hanover succeeded Stuart, a more earth-bound concept of monarchy succeeded that of solar absolutism, no longer validated through the old magical gods Mercury and Apollo. The room in which this magical mythology had been enacted appropriately enough became the backdrop to the final drama of Charles's reign represented by his execution. With the masquing hall rendered obsolete without its royal actor, Charles's decapitation in front of

his Banqueting House in effect also marked the end of the pretensions of British monarchy to be an embodiment of the divine, celestial order, severing as it were the Platonic link between the macrocosm and the royal microcosm. It was perhaps fitting therefore that Charles should have recited a prayer from the *Arcadia* when on the scaffold.

CAROLINE ART AND THE PROMISE OF 'A NEW HEAVEN AND A NEW EARTH'

This book has attempted to trace the migration of Neoplatonic concepts in Court art, from the flowering of these Renaissance ideas in Elizabethan poetry to their subsequent influence in the drama of Stuart masque. And with little building work having taken place in London under Elizabeth's reign, Jones's Vitruvian settings for this new form of theatre have been considered as a prelude to his later, more permanent built work in the capital. Elizabethan poetry had cultivated, in particular, the role of the magician monarch, a role subsequently enacted by the Stuart kings within pageants for which Jones's architecture was intended to form a lasting, physical setting. If Jones was akin to a magus in the working of transformations through his masque mechanics, then the powers of his royal patron over the natural world were here presented as the working of magic itself. The surviving masque drawings and texts testify to the Stuart expectations for a renewed antique Age of Gold, as apparently realised in all too temporary form within these celebrations themselves. Only the king's faith in the masque's magical, transforming power for the whole country can explain the vast Court expenditure on such an art-form as an instrument of policy. In this light the Stuart Court poets Chapman and Jonson, Vitruvian engineers de Caus, de Servi, and Jones, emblematisers Peacham and Bolton, and painters Rubens and Honthorst can be seen as Saturnian agents of a particularly British magical Golden Age. This expectation was animated by one text in particular, that of the last book of the Bible and its ultimate promise of 'a new heaven and a new earth' (Revelation 21).

The vision of the Apocalypse of St John the Divine recorded in Revelation, with the new, earthly Jerusalem as its conclusion, was a common prophetic theme in Renaissance art and literature.⁷ In these it was presented as the biblical counterpart of the promised Golden Age of antique legend. Perhaps the most powerful depiction of this vision can be seen in the engravings of Albrecht Dürer, who published his *Apocalypsis cum figuris* in 1498, and of Jean Duvet who followed with his own engravings on this theme in 1555. As the inevitable course towards which history was directed, in the hands of early Protestant apologists the prophecy of Revelation became a key justification for the split with the Catholic establishment and the foundation of the reformed Church of England. The destruction of Babylon, predicted in Revelation 18, seemed a clear reference to Rome, whilst Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1554)

made it an article of faith that the years of popish darkness could be identified in the 1,260 days (or years) of the reign of the Anti-Christ of Revelation 11:3.⁸ However, in its quest for the universal hidden order of nature and the harmony and proportioning of the heavens, Neoplatonism equally implied a common order for all religions, in the context of the post-Reformation religious strife which had led to the Armada and the Thirty Years War. As a reflection of magico-astral cosmology, the ideal state inevitably transcended religious divides. In this context Court art itself came to speak paradoxically both of strident Protestant independence and of union and peace with Catholic Europe, and with Rome in particular as the cradle of the renaissance of antiquity.

Apocalyptic prophecy emphasised an eventual overthrow of disorder by a Christian prince as a prelude to the rule of Christ himself. One of the central ambitions of Cabalistic magic was thus the evocation of the Apocalypse prior to the second coming, and in turn apocalyptic Cabalism echoed aspirations central to forms of practical magic such as alchemy for a return to the pre-Fall conditions of natural grace. Indeed, biblical prophecy and that of the Golden Age tradition were themselves curiously paralleled in the *Asclepius*, in which Hermes explains to Asclepius that Egypt was the image of heaven, a chosen land and home of the true religion as signified by the Egyptian statues animated by the spirits of the gods.⁹ However, old Egypt will be overrun by corruption and lost, for

Only pernicious angels will remain, who, mingling with men, will force upon the wretched ones every audacious evil as if it were justice ...And this will be the old age and the disorder and the irreligion of the world. But do not doubt, Asclepius, for after these things have occurred, the lord and father God, governor of the world...will doubtlessly then put an end to such a blot, recalling the world to its ancient countenance.

(Anon. 1924–36: 339–41)

This so-called Asclepian lament' was quoted by Giordano Bruno in the second part of the third dialogue of *Lo spaccio della bestia trionfante* (1584),¹⁰ and the image of a divinely sanctioned Egypt led Spenser to identify Britain with Egypt, and the Thames with the moon goddess Isis, in the *Faerie Queene*.¹¹ The Stuart pretension to a magical reform of Britain, dependent on the concept of 'restoring' a past race endowed with magical virtue, was thus a development of this general apocalyptic scheme of history, in which prophecy sought confirmation through legend. Here the Hermetic prophecy of the restoration of Egypt and the Cabalist expectation of the Messiah's return fused with the apocalyptic vision of the celestial New Jerusalem and the legendary restoration of the antique Golden Age.

Hence the aspiration to marry heaven with earth lay at the heart of Neoplatonic philosophy in all its various forms. According to Pico, the purpose of intellectual magic was to intensify the influence of astral or supercelestial powers upon terrestrial creatures and thereby perfect them. The aim was to harmonise, in other words, earth with heaven.¹² In this spirit the alchemist sought the ability to reform nature by uniting opposites, bringing earthly elements into more perfect harmony with their governing, heavenly *Ideas*. Dee attempted to use a form of Christian Cabalism to transcend the earthly realm and ascend to converse with the angels, messengers in the heavenly hierarchy. Such a union was symbolised in the mythology of the Golden Age by Astraea's descent from heaven to earth, thereby uniting both, and the alchemical transmutation of the earthly age of Iron to one of Gold. Astraea had a natural counterpart in antique mythology in the figure of Mercury-Hermes, identified with the prophetic angel in his role as messenger of the gods and intermediary between heaven and earth.¹³ In the course of his marriage eulogy for Prince Charles in 1625 Marcelline drew directly on the apocalyptic vision, for as the 'Ministers of the seven Churches in the Revelation', angels will become God's 'messengers and Embassadors sent unto mortalls, to bring unto them glad tydings of peace, and to preach unto them remission of sinnes'.¹⁴ Hence the presentation in Court poetry of first Elizabeth, and later James and Charles, in the role of the Mercurian monarch celebrated this vision of a new heaven on earth as an achieved ideal radiating from the person of the monarch.

Through their work Court artists sought to constitute a symbolic realm for their royal patron, a domain over and above the real kingdom itself, and when characterising this realm by assimilating hidden Platonic truths and universal harmonies artists saw themselves as proclaiming an image of the original garden. Renaissance Platonic art-forms were thought not merely to imitate nature but to perfect it, to transcend artifice by reflecting the natural conditions on earth before the Fall. These arts would thus form the setting for the reunification of man the microcosm with the macrocosm in anticipation of the marriage between earth and heaven. By contemplating such works, man's soul was, in short, lifted closer to God. This projected restoration or evocation of a divine state was implicit in the cultivation of Neoplatonic emblematics in particular, as the encapsulation of secret truths. Hermetic-biblical prophecy found its most powerful artistic expression through such emblems when they were used to present the Messianic message of the Renaissance festival, in the tradition of the entry of Charles IX into Paris in 1571, the marriage festivals of Henry IV in Florence in 1600, or the entry of James I into the City of London in 1604. The visions of universal empire created on such occasions, in which the city was transformed into a fused image of the celestial New Jerusalem, second Rome and Heliopolis, seemed less illusions than achieved ideals. In this tradition and following the upheavals of the Reformation and threats from Catholic Europe during the reign of Elizabeth, Stuart Vitruvian architecture and the Court garden sought to provide

a permanent, stable physical setting for the new universal spiritual order, arranged as they were around the underlying natural or occult harmonies glimpsed at in the festival.

A late and indeed final expression of the apocalyptic-Cabalist ambition to marry heaven and earth was in Caroline masque. In the queen's masque *Chloridia* (1631) the royal couple were presented by Jonson as the living embodiment of the renewed celestial love of heaven for earth, for: 'The heav'n of earth shall have no oddes,/But one shall love another./Their glories they shall mutual make,/Earth look on heaven for heaven's sake' (lines 41–4). Following this vision, the power of Stuart art itself to evoke a Platonic heaven on earth is made explicit, since

out of the earth ariseth a hill, and on the top of it, a globe, on which Fame is seen standing with her triumphet in her band; and on the hill are seated four persons, presenting Poesy, History, Architecture and Sculpture, who together with the nymphs, floods and fountains make a full choir; at which, Fame begins to mount, and moving her wings, flieth singing up to heaven.

(lines 228–33)

Here the Court was elevated by the arts themselves, for each in turn sings

We that sustain thee, learned Poesy
And I, her sister, severe History,
With Architecture, who will raise thee high,
And Sculpture that can keep thee from to die;
All help to lift thee to eternity.

(lines 249–53)

Despite the storm clouds of the impending Civil War, faith in the power of the arts to reform the earth in the image of hidden Platonic truths evidently remained until the end. What would turn out to be the final celebration of Stuart rule, William Davenant's masque *Salmacida Spolia* (1640), focused on the healing power represented by 'secret wisdom, in the person of the King' (line 13), a pure 'Tuscan wisdom' (line 323) which was unappreciated by the populace but understood by the noble minds of the initiated.¹⁵ Through a triumph of Vitruvian mechanics Jones's closing scene formed 'magnificent buildings composed of several selected pieces of architecture' (lines 451–2), whilst

beyond this on the shore were buildings in prospective, which shooting far from the eye shewed as the suburbs of a great city. From the highest part of the heavens came forth a cloud far in the scene, in which were eight persons richly attired representing the spheres. This joining with

two other clouds which appeared at that instant full of music, covered all the upper part of the scene; and, at that instant, beyond all these, a heaven opened full of deities; which celestial prospect, with the chorus below, filled all the whole scene with apparitions and harmony.

(lines 455–64)

This portrayed the cloud of Platonic harmony as described in book ten of the *Republic* (which Jones would have known through his Italian edition), following which, and for the last time on the masque stage, Heavenly Wisdom was to dance to 'the music of the spheres' (line 468) as a moving emblem of royal virtue. In proclaiming Jones's architecture as the embodiment of cosmic harmony, these clouds actually touched the tops of the earthly architecture, thereby physically linking heaven to earth. In Neoplatonic emblematics the circle was the hieroglyph for this union, a fact reflected in heavenly clouds and earthly temples as featured throughout Stuart masques, and traceable elsewhere in the plan of the proposed palace of Whitehall and in the first design for the west front of St Paul's. In the Elizabethan playhouses, with their circular cosmological plan, attempts had also been made, albeit temporarily, to evoke such illusory marriages of heaven and earth. Indeed, circular metaphors were often used in sermons and poetry to provide a stability against the threat posed by the black forces in the Apocalypse.¹⁶

Whilst there was always a risk that the theology of the Christian apologist would become unduly Platonic or pagan through reference to the ancient theology, as with the work of Bruno and Campanella,¹⁷ clearly this was not the case with Donne, Herbert, or the Laudians. Strands of the ancient theology found expression, however, through the outward and visible signs of Laud's church, and perhaps here the architectural Orders, as exemplars of antiquity, lent themselves most readily to the expression of this pre-Christian theology. Indeed, since Vitruvius had written his account of antique architecture at the time of Christ's birth, the renaissance of such architecture might easily have expressed the contemporary expectation of the second coming, the central focus of Christian Cabalism. With James cast as the ruler of the chosen people in the Protestant New Jerusalem, it follows that the architectural 'restoration' of London through the use of these Orders was officially understood to form a key stage in, and indeed to celebrate the conclusion of, what might be termed history itself, from ancient church to Stuart restoration. For within this apocalyptic scheme, Stuart London when projected as the restored Jerusalem stood on the brink of the universal enlightenment which prefigured the millennium.

At the heart of apocalyptic visions of the holy city lay the temple—old St Paul's restored under the Stuarts as the seat of British Platonic wisdom. This historical scheme provided the context for the refacing of St Paul's as the single most important enterprise in the Stuart attempt to monumentalise London, a plan which the resurfacing was itself meant to herald. In an age in

which every event and action was interpreted as a portent or sign charged with religious significance, the physical restoration of the cathedral might quite naturally have been seen as the preparation for such a spiritual restoration, as *Britannia Triumphans* would seem to confirm in enacting restored British magical virtues in front of an image of the cathedral. This echoed tales of the medieval cathedral as the setting for both miracles and curses¹⁸ and, following the fire of 1561, the state of the fabric itself was interpreted as a sign of God's favour. Henry Farley concluded his 1622 poem on cathedral 'restoration' with a general Messianic hope, praising King James and Prince Charles, 'God blesse them both, and Their Offspring,/Till SHILO come againe',¹⁹ whilst according to Waller's verse the restored cathedral 'At once...threatens and obliges heaven'. Indeed, the bold Corinthian portico with its imperial statues of James and Charles can be seen to celebrate not merely a past glory but the expectation of the Stuart dynasty's endurance until the second coming, and perhaps one reason (other than financial) for the omission of the side statues of past British kings was to leave space for this future Stuart line. According to Webb, this portico was designed to attract nothing less than 'the Envy of all *Christendom* upon our Nation, for a Piece of Architecture not to be parallel'd in these last Ages of the World'.²⁰ Curiously enough, the state papers of 1660–1 report that the Jews 'endeavoured to buy St Paul's for a synagogue in the late usurper's time'.²¹ Exiled for many years, perhaps this offer formed part of the negotiations between Cromwell and the Cabalistic Jew, Menasseh Ben Israel,²² with the Jews hoping to find a home in the temple resurfaced with an architecture which reflected the Hebrew-inspired Christian Cabala. However, the cathedral was to become the setting not for rebirth but destruction, being made ruinous by the Great Fire of London in 1666. Thomas Vincent's *Gods Terrible Voice in the City* (1667) presented this destruction of the seat of the reformed religion as akin to the day of judgement itself, a necessary precursor, however, once again to the fulfilment of heaven on earth. Indeed, to many the year 1666, in reflecting the number 666 identified as the sign of the Beast in Revelation 13:18, seemed particularly ominous as the possible harbinger of a Messianic age.²³

In reordering medieval London, Jones's harmonic architecture, with its associated painting and sculpture, reflected the wider utopian aspiration of the Christian Cabalist to evoke the second coming through working to make the world worthy of it. He hoped to provide the Stuart age with a physical setting fit for Christ, in succession to the Vitruvian architecture of the Golden Age of Augustus. In this way Jones's work attempted to provide a permanent, sacred setting for the monarch cast as the living image of divine prototypes, a Jewish king, pagan emperor, and Christian prince. Faith in these tripartite roles of monarchy was maintained by Charles until the end. In *Eikon Basilike* (1649) Charles presented himself as the embodiment of the concept of mystical kingship developed by his father, whilst his sufferings were here frequently alluded to as akin to those of Christ. William Marshall's frontispiece sought to immortalise the king in this role, representing the royal martyr with his gaze fixed

on the heavenly crown which awaits him whilst a rock and weighted palm symbolise his constancy in the path of virtue (Figure 46). Indeed, palm iconography was itself sometimes associated in England with the 'Agnus Dei', in which Christ is identified as the sacrificial lamb by whose death mankind will be redeemed.²⁴ The palm leaves on Jones's first cathedral west face represented this royal virtue,²⁵ whilst once again mirroring the ideal world of masque in which palms were used to signify peace and equate the capital with the holy city.²⁶ The architectural scheme for the capital spoke of the duties incumbent upon the Stuarts as citizens not merely of an earthly but rather of a heavenly city, a vision frequently evoked by the cathedral congregation in hymns.²⁷ With Stuart artists striving to celebrate the advent of this divinity, the City of London and its restored temple might thus be seen to merge, traced through such magical transformations witnessed at the conclusion of masques and processions to the central promise of Revelation (Chapter 21):

And I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God...having a wall great and high; having twelve gates, and at the gates twelve Angels; and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel...And the building of the wall thereof was



Figure 46 William Marshall's emblematic frontispiece to Charles's *Eikon Basilike*, London (1649). (Courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.)

Jasper: and the city was pure gold, like unto pure glasse...And I saw no temple therein: for the Lord God the Almighty, and the Lamb, are the temple thereof...And the nations shall walk amidst the light thereof: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory into it.

APPENDIX

Inigo Jones or John Webb?

THE PROBLEM OF AUTHORSHIP OF *STONE-HENG RESTORED* (1655)

The only text published by the Jones-Webb partnership on the subject of architecture was the curious study of Stonehenge, *STONE-HENG Restored* (1655), with its references to British mythology, Neoplatonic emblematics, and the work of John Dee. However, a problem of authorship surrounds this document, frequently attributed as it is to either Jones or Webb, or indeed to both architects. This problem touches on the nature of the collaboration between two of the most important artists of the Stuart period, and affects the status of this document as a record of their views.

James's curiosity about Stonehenge was aroused in 1620 whilst he was staying near the monument, at Wilton House, as the Introduction to *STONE-HENG Restored* informs us. Stonehenge evidently became part of the famous discussions of the arts at Wilton, prompted by William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke; in the same year as this interest in Stonehenge, for example, the English translation of Honoré d'Urfé's *L'Astrée*, the pastoral saga of Neoplatonic love, was dedicated to Philip Herbert as the future earl. As a consequence of this royal curiosity the Court 'Surveyor' received 'his Majesties commands to produce out of mine own practice in *Architecture*, and experience in *Antiquities* abroad, what possibly I could discover concerning this of *Stoneheng*'. Implied in this request was the notion that Stonehenge was architecture, and antique architecture at that. Thus Jones was prompted by Court patronage into the role of antiquarian and, Webb tells us, was even acknowledged as such by one of the leading antiquarians of the day, John Selden. Curiously enough, some time after Jones's death in 1652 it was Selden, along with William Harvey, who persuaded Webb to publish Jones's survey. As Webb writes: 'nor should it ever have been published, had not our famous Anatomist Doctor *William Harvey*, *John Selden* Esquire and the best Antiquaries then living, overpersuaded me to it, lest a Work so grateful to *his Country* should utterly be lost.'¹ Selden obviously praised a manuscript version, not the finished book; and indeed he died a year before publication of the work. Webb's association of the study with the 'famous' and 'best' of

Stuart scholarship illustrates the long-standing importance of Stonehenge to the Jones-Webb partnership, which was finally represented by the publication of the study itself.

This study comprises the first attempt to analyse the various medieval legends surrounding the stones and is thus the first reasoned hypothesis concerning the construction of Stonehenge after Geoffrey's more magical account;² *STONE-HENG Restored* opens with a set of enquiries:

Among the ancient monuments whereof, found here, I deemed none more worthy the serching after, then this of *Stoneheng*; not only in regard of the *Founders* thereof, the *Time* when built, the *Work* it self, but also for the rarity of its *Invention*, being different in *Forme* from all I had seen before.

(Jones 1655:1)

However, the ambiguity surrounding the authorship of this work is evident from the start, since John Webb claimed in the Preface that:

This Discourse of *Stone-heng* is moulded off, and cast into a rude Form, from some few indigested notes of the late...Inigo...Jones the desires of severall his learned *Friends* have encouraged me to compose this Treatise. Had he survived to have done it with his own hand, there had needed no Apology. Such as it is, I make now yours. Accept it in *his name*, from *J.W.*

(Jones 1655: Preface)

This ambiguity is indeed illustrated in one part of the text itself where the author notes, 'Had I not been thought worthy (by him who then commanded) to have been sole *Architect* thereof, I would have made some mention of the great stones used in the work, and *Portico* at the West end of S.Pauls Church *London*.'³ However, this passage at least cannot have formed part of Jones's survey notes of Stonehenge made in 1620. According to the works accounts for St Paul's, the 'great stones' for the portico were not lowered into place until 1637–8,⁴ and indeed Charles's rule is noted in the past tense. Two possible explanations suggest themselves. The first is that although the notes which Webb claimed to have found were started in 1620, Jones added this reference during the last three years of his life, after Charles's execution in 1649. For as Tait observes, his scheme would 'seem to have been a problem that Jones pondered intermittently and long...both he and Webb may have turned their attention to Stonehenge again in 1647/8 when they were both once more engaged at Wilton'.⁵ The second possibility is that this passage was added, or altered, by Webb writing on behalf of Jones and using the term 'T', possibly in the three years between Jones's death in 1652 and publication.

This would be an example of what Tait speculates was the division of labour, Webb having concerned himself with the historical and literary part of the investigation of Stonehenge.⁶ Webb himself was subsequently to claim in 1665 that Jones's 'Notes were not found, much less *Stone-Heng restored written*, until long after *his* Death';⁷ given that only three years had in fact elapsed between Jones's death and publication, this is certainly an exaggeration as, perhaps, were Webb's general claims to overall authorship. Indeed, textual evidence for Jones's authorship of part of the book is provided by the phrase 'Architectonicall Scheam', used throughout to describe the geometry of Stonehenge; Jones's interest in this phrase is evident in his 1551 copy of *L'ethica d'Aristotile*, where in book six, chapter seven (page 188), we find this term in the text underlined and in the margin Jones's note Architectonicall or Universall'.

Whilst accepting Jones's authorship, eight years after publication the architect's argument was dismissed by the 'Physician in Ordinary' to Charles II, Doctor Walter Charleton, in *CHOREA GIGANTUM: or...STONEHENG...Restored to the DANES* (1663). Charleton's counter-claim for Danish builders led Webb to write a *VINDICATION OF Stone-Heng Restored*, published two years later. Webb's reply repeated the basic arguments of the first study; but the work is long-winded and disorganised, in contrast to *STONE-HENG Restored*, a fact which might further suggest Jones as author of a substantial amount of the original. The Stuart architects had other seventeenth century critics. John Aubrey, for example, whilst reading Jones's book 'with great delight', noted that 'having compared his Scheme with the Monument it self, I found he had not dealt fairly... he framed the monument to his own Hypothesis, which is much differing from the Thing it self'.⁸ However, whilst rejecting a Romano-British origin in favour of Druid builders, Aubrey did not question the architect's authorship, noting 'there was published by Mr Web a Booke intituled Stonehenge-restored (but writt by Mr Inigo Jones)'.⁹

In the eighteenth century rival theories as to the origins of Stonehenge, linked to the desire not to attack the much-admired 'Palladian' architect, led to allegations that as a publication with Jones's name on the title page the book was a forgery. When claiming that Jones's Barber Surgeons' Anatomy theatre (1636–7) was based on a (now lost) ancient oval Druid monument at Eglwys Glominog, Lhanykil (the modern Llanycil), Merionethshire, William Stukeley in *Stonehenge, a Temple Restored to the British Druids* (1740), noted: 'And this appears to me a strong presumption, that *Inigo Jones* did not make the ground-plot of Stonehenge, publish'd under his name'.¹⁰ However, in that his Stonehenge was of Druid origin and not Romano-British, Stukeley obviously had a vested interest in proving *STONE-HENG Restored* a forgery. With Jones holding the Druids in such esteem that he copied their monuments in his own work, so Stukeley's argument implied, the architect would never have made the 'mistake' of providing a Romano-British pedigree for Stonehenge, so obviously also a Druid monument.

More recent commentators have also had difficulty in accepting the compatibility of Jones's Stonehenge theory with the rest of his work. This is perhaps inevitable when Jones's architecture is considered, not as it has been here in the context of the general Stuart culture of Neoplatonism characterised by British mythology, but instead as a development of Italian architectural style. The obvious incompatibility between Stonehenge and this style has led them to question, or excuse, Jones's authorship. In 1848 Peter Cunningham thought the theory of 'the great architect' a 'monstrous supposition', and that his notes 'contain perhaps less of his own views upon the subject, than of ingenious illustrations of the hypothesis of the learned sovereign by whose command he had entered on the inquiry'.¹¹ Gotch writing in 1928 found it 'hard to understand' how Webb 'could have adopted and elaborated such a theory'.¹² In 1953 as an apology on Jones's behalf, Lees-Milne offered the curious explanation that it was

likely that Jones was far from satisfied by his conclusions, which might even have been dictated by the King, and that he managed successfully to avoid publication of them during James's lifetime. If this was so, then Webb did his memory no service by resurrecting them.... How ...Webb could have believed such nonsense is a mystery.

(Lees-Milne 1953:161)

Frances Yates seriously considered the problem of authorship in 1969, deciding in favour of Jones. She pointed out that Webb's dedication to Philip, Earl of Pembroke, the only surviving member of the party probably gathered at Wilton in 1620, would seem confirmation of the truth of the story of the king's instruction to Jones, whose survey was then 'added to in later years'.¹³ Indeed, Webb would himself appear to have been sensitive to suggestions of misrepresentation, for after his citation of Harvey and Selden in defence of Jones's reputation, in his *VINDICATION* he also mentions 'the learned Sir *Justinian Isham* Baronet, and Sir *John Penruddock* knight' (evidently Jones's 'Friends' noted by Webb in his 1655 Preface as having urged publication) who, together with 'divers others yet surviving, can testify what I say is Truth'.¹⁴ Stephen Orgel echoed Yates's view in only allowing Webb 'composition' of the work, and concluded that 'Webb was not a notably inventive man, and there is no reason to suppose that *Stone-Heng Restored* is not a fair representation of the notes from which he was working'.¹⁵ More recently, in 1989 John Bold noted that Webb 'was acting, initially at least, as witness to the ideas of his master',¹⁶ whilst Gordon Higgott in 1992 claimed that the ideas were Webb's, published under Jones's name.¹⁷

In the end it is impossible to come to any firm conclusion as to the exact division of labour in *STONE-HENG Restored*, hinging as it does on the scope and extent, or indeed very existence, of Jones's 'few indigested notes'. Perhaps in the allusion to these enigmatic 'notes', which implied a distinction between

these and the book as a whole, Webb intended to play down Jones's role, and thereby claim for himself a larger share in the work than that of mere editor, to impress the new authorities. Or perhaps Webb wrote the whole book, writing as if in the person of Jones and citing 'notes' by the Royal Surveyor to give the forgery an apparent authentic base. Although if Jones really played no part at all (despite his evident survey), what motivated Webb to produce a forgery rather than use his own name, given that, as he himself tells us, the study had met with such antiquarian approval before publication? And if Jones's 'notes' did exist then they must surely have formed at least the idea of *STONE-HENG Restored*. Of course, if looked at in reverse, the geometry of St Paul's and Whitehall examined here provides further evidence that Jones was the author, or, at the very least, that the scheme by which the monument was 'restored' was contained in these 'notes' which Webb later claimed to have found. Surely one of Webb's last acts of homage to his master was the publication of these, praised by both Selden and Harvey, in forming part of his role as chronicler of Jones's career.¹⁸

What remain reasonably certain are the fact and date of Jones's survey, 1620, the date of publication by Webb, 1655, and that Jones's name appears on the title page. Implied in this, however, is a partnership evident throughout their work. Indeed perhaps the problem of actual authorship is relatively unimportant, since Jones and Webb worked so closely together it is often impossible to detect either hand specifically. Hence the division of work on St Paul's Cathedral might, for example, be a clue to unravelling their collaboration at Stonehenge, Jones executing the survey—which included design—with Webb then tracing and organising the actual building work¹⁹ or, in the case of the enigmatic Stonehenge study, retrospective publication.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION: STUART MAGIC AND THE FAIRY QUEEN

- 1 For this definition of 'art' see Burke, P., *The Italian Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1986, Chapter 5, pp. 124–42.
- 2 According to Vasari, Francesco Parmigianino gave up painting to study alchemy; see Fagiolo Dell'Arco, M., *Il Parmigianino: un saggio sull'ermetismo nel 500*, Rome, 1970; on Renaissance artists and alchemy, see Wittkower, R., *Born under Saturn*, London, 1963, pp. 84–8. At the Court of Ferrara, Dosso Dossi painted the enchantress of the *Odyssey*, Circe; see Strong, R., *Art and Power*, Woodbridge, 1984, pp. 119–20, and Burke, P., 'Witchcraft and Magic in Renaissance Italy: Gianfrancesco Pico and His Strix', in Anglo, S. (ed.) *The Damned Art*, London, 1977, pp. 32–52. Magicians and talismans feature in Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, 1558, whilst Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, 1590, allegorised Elizabeth herself as a magical princess; see Brooks-Davies, D., *The Mercurian Monarch*, Manchester, 1983, pp. 11–84 (alchemical symbols pp. 22–9).
- 3 See Kemp, M., *The Science of Art*, New Haven, Yale, 1990.
- 4 Wotton, H., *The Elements of Architecture*, London, 1624 (ed. F. Hard, Charlottesville, VA, 1968), p. 2.
- 5 Elias Ashmole wrote of Adam, Abraham, Moses, and Solomon as alchemists in *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, London, 1652, fols A3v–B.
- 6 Pico added aspects of Jewish Cabala to the Hermetic sources used by Ficino; see Mebane, J.S., *Renaissance Magic and the Return of the Golden Age*, Lincoln, Nebr., 1989, pp. 38–9.
- 7 For a brief history of Christian Cabala, see Yates, F., *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age*, London, 1979, pp. 2–3, 17, 189–91. For a revision of Yates, and Cabala as a religious 'movement', see Clulee, N., *John Dee's Natural Philosophy*, London, 1988, pp. 128–9.
- 8 See Yates, F., *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, London, 1964, p. 115.
- 9 See for example Debus, A.G., *The English Paracelsians*, London, 1965, pp. 18–22; Westman, R.S., 'Magical Reform and Astronomical Reform: The Yates Thesis Reconsidered', in Westman, R.S. and MacGuire, J., *Hermeticism and the Scientific Revolution*, Los Angeles, Calif., 1977, pp. 1–91.

- 10 For a study of the art of festival as an expression of power in Renaissance Europe, see Strong, *op. cit.*; Nicholas V (1447–55) had been the first Pope to use architecture throughout Rome to represent his position in the church: see Westfall, C.W., *In This Most Perfect Paradise*, Pennsylvania, 1974.
- 11 The astrological themes in the frescos by Francesco del Cossa in the Palazzo Schifanoia at Ferrara may, for example, have been painted to ensure the good fortune of the Duke: see Burke, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
- 12 See Taylor, R., 'Architecture and Magic', in Hibbard, H. (ed.) *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, London, 1967; and 'Hermetic and Mystical Architecture in the Society of Jesus', Wittkower, R. (ed.) in *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, New York, 1972, pp. 76–9.
- 13 See Evans, R.J.W., *Rudolf II and His World. A Study in Intellectual History 1576–1612*, Oxford, 1973.
- 14 See Yates, F., *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1947; Strong, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 102, 138.
- 15 See Yates, F., *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, London, 1972. However, the influence of the Rosicrucian manifestos has probably been exaggerated; see Vickers, B., 'Frances Yates and the Writing of History', *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 51, 1979, pp. 287–316.
- 16 Thomas, K., *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, London, 1971; see also Clulee, *op. cit.*, pp. 218–20.
- 17 On Paracelsianism and practical medicine, see Debus, *op. cit.*
- 18 See *Dictionary of National Biography (DNB)* 1937–8 edn entry for Colet. Colet's lectures on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, begun at Oxford in 1497 and continued at St Paul's, frequently referred to both Ficino and Pico della Mirandola (the *Heptaplus*, 1489, for example). These lectures were to have an enormous influence on both church and king.
- 19 See Yates, *The Occult Philosophy*, p. 38.
- 20 See Thoren, V.E., *The Lord of Uraniborg*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 334–5; in the 1632 English translation—*LEARNED Ticho Brahe his Prophetical conclusion of the New and much admired Starre of the North, 1572*, by Michael Sparke and Samuel Nealand—following Brahe's dedication to Rudolf II there is 'An Elogie made and written by JAMES the VI King of Scots, in commendation of TYCHO BRAHE his workes, and worth': 'what *Phaeton* dar'd, was by Apollo done/Who rul'd the fiery Horses of the Sunne/More TYCHO doth; hee rules the *Starres* above/And is *Urania's* Favorite, and Love'. Later in the Caroline masque, Thomas Carew's *Coelum Britannicum*, 1634, reference is made to the 'great master Tycho' (line 410).
- 21 See Debus, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
- 22 See Strong, R., *The Renaissance Garden in England*, London, 1979, p. 71.
- 23 See list of occult interests in Strong, R., *Henry Prince of Wales*, London, 1986, pp. 213–15: 'Henry emerges as the Prince *par excellence* of Renaissance hermetic science in England.' His library contained individual works by Reuchlin, Pastorius, Trithemius—the sort of tradition associated with John Dee; see also Birrell, T.A., *English Monarchs and their Books: from Henry VII to Charles II*, London, 1986, p. 38.
- 24 See Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, pp. 13, 33.
- 25 See Cassirer, E., *The Platonic Renaissance in England* (trans. J. Pettegrove), London, 1953, pp. 105, 111.
- 26 See *ibid.*, pp. 112–15; Fowler, A.D., *Spenser and the Numbers of Time*, London, 1964; Fletcher, A., *The Prophetic Moment: an Essay on Spenser*, Chicago, 1971, pp. 157, 275. Fowler's work on Spenser is discussed by Yates, *The Occult Philosophy*, pp. 97–101.
- 27 Chapman, G., *Poems* (ed. P. Bartlett), New York, 1941, *Hymnus in Cynthiam*, Part II, line 395 p. 28, gloss, p. 30.

- 28 Bruno's *Lo spaccio della bestia trionfante*, 1584, and *De gli eroici furori*, 1585, were published in London and dedicated to Sidney; on the influence of Bruno's work on *The Faerie Queene*, see Brooks-Davies, op. cit., pp. 6, 30–2.
- 29 See Yates, F., *Shakespeare's Last Plays*, London, 1975.
- 30 See Yates, *The Occult Philosophy*.
- 31 See Clulee, op. cit.; French, P.J., *John Dee*, London, 1972.
- 32 On this, see Clulee, op. cit., pp. 146–76.
- 33 Dee, J., 'Preface' to *EUCLID*, London, 1570, verso of first page (unnumbered).
- 34 Ibid., Aj.
- 35 Ibid., dij.
- 36 Ibid., ciijj.
- 37 See for example Mebane, op. cit.; Ettin, A.V., 'Magic into Art: the Magician's Renunciation of Magic in English Renaissance Drama', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, vol. 19, 1977, pp. 268–93; Yates, *The Occult Philosophy*.
- 38 Jonson, B., *Chloridia*, 1631, lines 230–1.
- 39 Davenant, W., *Britannia Triumphans*, 1637, lines 19–23.
- 40 See Sharpe, K., *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, London, 1992, p. 227.
- 41 Allusion to, and direct condemnation of, the contemporary corruption of the English social fabric appear throughout his *La cena de le ceneri*, published in London in 1584 and dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney.
- 42 Dee, op. cit., diijj.
- 43 See for example Newman, J., 'Inigo Jones's Architectural Education before 1614', *Architectural History*, vol. 35, 1992, pp. 18–50, and Higgott, G., 'Varying with Reason': Inigo Jones's Theory or Design', *Architectural History*, vol. 35, 1992, pp. 51–77. These offer no philosophical framework for Jones's work, merely concentrating on issues of style and technique. There is in fact poor evidence that these notes were made before 1614.
- 44 Jones owned an edition of Plato's *Republic*, and Plutarch's *Opusculi Morali*; he evidently studied Plato's *Symposium* and the Platonic-Pythagorean ideas in his Vitruvius (the 1556 edition with a commentary by Daniel Barbaro, itself with Neoplatonic references), Alberti, Serlio, Lomazzo, and Scamozzi (indeed Palladio was himself, like Alberti, naturally influenced by Platonic-Pythagorean philosophy).
- 45 Peacham refers to Jones as his 'worthy' friend in *The Compleat Gentleman*, London, 1622, Chapter 12, p. 137.
- 46 In 1607 Bolton made Jones a gift of a book (*De Rebus Praeclare Gestis a Sixto V Pont. Max.*, Rome, 1588) with the inscription:

30th December, 1606. As an earnest and a token of a friendship which is to endure for ever with Inigo Jones, I, Edmund Bolton give this book. Mercury son of Jove to his own Inigo Jones through whom there is hope that sculpture, modelling, architecture, painting, acting and all that is praise worthy in the elegant arts of the ancients, may one day find their way across the Alps into our England.

(Translated from the Latin by J.A.Gotch, *Inigo Jones*, London, 1928, p. 44)

Bolton was in Italy on the New Year of 1607, possibly with Jones, see Gotch, *Inigo Jones*, p. 43.

- 47 Chapman dedicated his translation of the *Divine poem of Musaeus*, 1616, 'to the most generally Ingenious, and our only learned Architect, my exceeding good Friend, Inigo Jones Esquire Surveyor of his Majesty's works' (according to the *DNB* only one copy exists, in the Bodleian; see 1858 edition (ed. R.Hooper), pp. 211–12). Jones may have designed Chapman's frontispiece to his *Homer* (see Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales*, p. 131), Jones had worked with Chapman on *The*

Memorable Maske, celebrating the marriage of Princess Elizabeth in 1613, and was eventually to design his memorial in St Giles-in-the-Fields. Christy Anderson (Worcester College, Oxford) has told me she has found a copy of Chapman's *An Epicede or Funerall Song: on the most disastrous Death of the High-borne Prince of Men, HENRY Prince of WALES*, 1612, once belonging to Jones.

- 48 For citations of Neoplatonic influences, see Toplis, G., 'Inigo Jones, a Study of Neoplatonic Aspects of his Thought and Work' (unpublished MA thesis, Liverpool University), 1967; Yates, F., *Theatre of the World*, London, 1969, Chapter 5, pp. 80–91; Strong, R., and Orgel, S., *Inigo Jones: the Theatre of the Stuart Court*, London, 1973, and preface, *Art and Power*, p. 155; Rykwert, J., *The First Moderns*, London and Cambridge, Mass., 1980, Chapter 6, pp. 121–261; Parry, G., *Golden Age Restor'd*, Manchester, 1981, p. 202; Bold, J., *John Webb*, Oxford, 1989, p. 34; Brooks-Davies, op. cit., p. 85.
- 49 See Hersey, G.L., *Pythagorean Palaces*, Ithaca, NY, 1976.
- 50 See Taylor, op. cit.
- 51 See Strong, R., *Van Dyck: Charles I on Horseback*, London, 1972, p. 19.
- 52 According to the historical scheme first published by Ernest Cassirer in 1932 and translated by J.Pettegrove in 1953 (Cassirer, op. cit.), the Platonic Renaissance themes of the Elizabethan Court poets extended into the work of the Cambridge Platonists, published after 1650, but he attempts no discussion of the Stuart period itself. With the exception of a period entitled the 'Elizabethan Revival in the Jacobean Age', coinciding with Prince Henry's Court, Frances Yates suggested in 1979 that Hermetic influences were curtailed by the 'witch scare' which she claimed spread through Europe at the end of the sixteenth century (*The Occult Philosophy*, pp. 91–3, 160). The earlier thesis of her *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, had, however, accepted these influences throughout this period, arguing that the Elizabethan age, in what she terms 'its Rosicrucian and Dee-inspired aspects', continued abroad at the court of the Elector Palatine at Heidelberg. In 1987 Hugh Trevor-Roper pinpointed a later period, around 1620, as the beginning of what he terms the 'mechanical philosophy' which would 'eclipse the Hermeticism of the Renaissance' (*Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans*, London, 1987, p. 6).
- 53 Mebane, op. cit., p. 138, notes for example that the 'influence of millenary occultism had waned somewhat in the first decade of the seventeenth century, especially because of King James's opposition to the occult tradition, but it was by no means extinct'.
- 54 See Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, p. 403 n.1.
- 55 Evident in James's *Daemonologie*, Edinburgh, 1597, in which Agrippa is cited twice, in the Preface and on pp. 13–14 (ed. G.B.Harrison, Edinburgh, 1966).
- 56 Yates noted in respect of Jonson's *Alchemist* that it represented 'a most strange phenomenon, [for]...Jonson had himself written the masques in honour of Prince Henry' (*The Occult Philosophy*, p. 161). See also Mebane, op. cit., pp. 156–73.
- 57 In *Daemonologie* James in fact displays an ambiguous attitude to practical magic. Certain branches of popular magic are considered 'white'; see, for example, p. 13 on 'Astronomy': 'not onelie lawfull, but most necessarie and commendable'; and 'Astrology' referred to as 'not unlawful' (op. cit.). For a discussion of this work, see Clark, S., 'King James's *Daemonologie*: Witchcraft and Kingship', in Anglo, op. cit.

- 58 Evident in the work of John Cotta, for example, a Northampton physician; see Debus, *op. cit.*, pp. 79–80. Pico had clearly distinguished between white and black magic, see Mebane, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–5.
- 59 Jonson, B., *The Masque of Queens*, 1609, line 16, Jones's design for this section of anti-masque establishing his knowledge and consultation of a wide variety of books on demonology.
- 60 Davenant, W., *Salmacida Spolia*, 1640, lines 202–3; a 'Rosicrucian' theme had been used by Jonson in the anti-masques to *Neptune's Triumph*, 1624, and *The Fortunate Isles, and Their Union*, 1625, after which the true magus, James, is addressed; see Brooks-Davies, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–5.
- 61 Jonson, *The Masque of Queens*, lines 24–5.
- 62 *Ibid.*, lines 353–4.
- 63 Thomas Campion's masque written for the marriage of the Earl of Somerset to Lady Frances Howard in 1613 is in *Description*, London, 1614; on Elizabeth's magic, see Strong, *Art and Power*, p. 94.
- 64 Pointed out by Birrell, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
- 65 See Thomas, *op. cit.*
- 66 The third book of Agrippa is on 'ceremonial magic'; see *De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres* (ed. V.Perrone Compagni), Leiden, 1992. On the ceremonial magic of the church, see Clulee, *op. cit.*, pp. 134, 206, 218.
- 67 John Foxe includes Pico della Mirandola in a list of praiseworthy philosophers who had prepared the way for Luther and the Reformation by spreading learning and thereby illuminating the abuses of the Catholic church; see his *Actes and Monuments*, 1583 edn, vol. 2, p. 843 (incorrectly numbered p. 841). See also Yates, *F, Astraea*, London, 1975, pp. 44–5, 74 n.4; Walker, D.P., *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella*, London, 1958, pp. 83–4.
- 68 Bacon's 'Solomon's House' reflected Solomon's temple, equally initiated in the 'secret motions of things'. Whilst condemning popular magic, Bacon would seem to share James's ambiguous attitude to forms of philosophical magic, whilst certain aspects of Neoplatonism clearly influenced him. See Fisch, H., *Jerusalem and Albion*, London, 1964, pp. 84–5; Rossi, P., *Francis Bacon, from Magic to Science*, London, 1968; Mebane, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 111, 169–72. On the Paracelsian influences on Bacon, see Webster, C., *The Great Instauration*, London, 1975, pp. 384–5; Hunter, M., *Science and Society in Restoration England*, Cambridge, 1981, p. 19.
- 69 See Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*.

1 STUART COURT ART AND THE MAGIC OF KINGSHIP

- 1 See Pico della Mirandola, G.F., *Heptaplus* (ed. E.Garin), Florence, 1945 edn, pp. 184–98, 246–66, 308–24.
- 2 The painter Johannes Symoonis van der Beeck, called Torrentius, a libertine in Calvinist Holland, was accused of belonging to the Rosicrucians and practising the black arts; imprisoned in 1627, he was freed on the intervention of Charles I; see Wittkower, R., *Born under Saturn*, London, 1963, p. 31.
- 3 According to Ficino, in poetry, mathematics, music, oratory, and architecture, and in exploring the inner workings of nature, we reveal our participation in the godhead (*Theologia Platonica* (ed. R.Marcell), Paris, 1964, vol. 2, pp. 224–6); see a full translation by J.L.Burroughs, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 5, 1944, pp. 232–5; for a study of this see Mebane, J.S., *Renaissance Magic and the Return of the Golden Age*, Lincoln, Nebr. 1989, pp. 22–35.

- 4 See, for example, *De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres* (ed. V. Perrone Compagni), Leiden, 1992, Book III, Chapters 31–32, pp. 495–501, on melancholic humour; see Klibansky, R., Panofsky, E., and Saxl, F., *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion, and Art*, London, 1964, especially pp. 355–7.
- 5 See Klibansky, *et al.*, *op. cit.*; Yates, F., *The Occult Philosophy*, London, 1979, pp. 49–59; Wittkower, *op. cit.*, Chapter 5, pp. 98–132. Saturnian melancholy formed a main theme in Jonson's masque *The Fortunate Isles, and Their Union*, 1625.
- 6 See Strong, R., *Van Dyck*, London, 1972, pp. 95–6, and 'The Elizabethan Malady. Melancholy in Elizabethan and Jacobean Portraiture', *Apollo*, vol. 79, 1964, pp. 264–9.
- 7 See Strong, R., *The Renaissance Garden in England*, London, 1979, pp. 215–19.
- 8 See Brooks-Davies, D., *The Mercurian Monarch*, Manchester, 1983, pp. 15, 21, 71–2 n.25.
- 9 For 'occult' explanations of poetic inspiration, see Gian Francesco Pico della Mirandola, *On the Imagination* (trans. H. Caplan), Cornell Studies in English no. 16, Yale, 1930. See French, P., *John Dee*, London, 1972, pp. 126–59; Yates, F., *Giordano Bruno*, London, 1964, pp. 275–90; Mebane, *op. cit.*, pp. 132–3, 159, 180.
- 10 Ficino, for example, described his age as a 'golden century' which had 'brought back to light the liberal arts, which were all but extinguished: grammar, poetry, oratory, painting, sculpture, architecture, music, the ancient chanting of songs to the Orphic lyre' (*Opera Omnia*, Basel, 1576, vol. 1, p. 944); discussed in Levin, H., *The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance*, London, 1969, p. 39.
- 11 Plato, *Timaeus*, Harmondsworth, 1965 edn, [47] p. 65.
- 12 Wotton, H., *The Elements of Architecture*, London, 1624, p. 12.
- 13 According to Alberti, buildings should be governed by 'Symmetria', which means not only that one form balances another across an axis (the modern meaning of 'symmetry'), but also that every element is governed by the same ratios as those of the whole, and that a constant module is used throughout.
- 14 For Pythagorean anthropomorphism, see Hersey, G.L., *Pythagorean Palaces*, Ithaca, NY, 1976, especially pp. 88–9, 113–14.
- 15 See *ibid.*, on Ficino pp. 34–5, on Alberti, pp. 173–5. Wittkower, R., *Architectural Principles*, London, 1988 edn, pp. 25, 141; Yates, F., *The Occult Philosophy*, London, 1979, pp. 29–36; Rykwert, J., *The First Moderns*, London and Cambridge, Mass., 1980, p. 126.
- 16 Dee, J., 'Preface', *EUCLID*, London, 1570, aiiij.
- 17 In *Timaeum*, cap. cli, *Iterum de Homine Quantum ad Animam Spectat et Corpus*, 1590, p. 827 A; see Rykwert, *op. cit.*, p. 204 n.48. Wotton, *op. cit.*, p. 97, cites 'Platoes Amphisboena'.
- 18 Wotton, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
- 19 For the importance of the concept of the *Idea* in the Renaissance, see Panofsky, E., *Idea* (trans. J. Peake), New York, 1968. For Lomazzo and Hermeticism, see Hersey, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
- 20 Dee, *op. cit.*, diiiij, margin.
- 21 Bolton, E., *The Elements of Armories*, London, 1610, p. 80.
- 22 Dee, *op. cit.*, diij—diijj.
- 23 Wotton, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–12.
- 24 Jones's copy of the Barbaro 'Vitruvius', against Barbaro Book 1, Chapter 1, p. 6.
- 25 *Ibid.*, Book 1, Chapter 2, p. 32 against Barbaro lines 15, 18, 21.
- 26 See Wood, J., 'Inigo Jones, Italian Art, and the Practice of Drawing', *Art Bulletin*, vol. 74, June 1992, pp. 247–70.
- 27 Plato, *La Repubblica di Platone* (trans. P. Fiorimbene), Venice, 1554.

- 28 Suggested by Wood, op. cit., p. 261; for example Hercole Barbassa's translation in the edition by Ficino, *Il Commento di Marsilio Ficino sopra il Convito di Platone, & esso Convito, Tradotti in lingua Toscana per Hercole Barbarasa da Terni*, Rome, 1544; and Ficino's *Sopra l'Amore o Vero Convito di Platone. Traslatato da lui dalla Greca lingua nella Latina, e appresso volgarizzato nella Toscana. Di nuovo ristampato*, Florence, 1594.
- 29 The influence in masques of Ficino's commentary on the *Symposium* (citing *In Convivium Commentarium*, in *Divini Platonis Opera Omnia*, Lyon, 1567), is noted in Strong, R., and Orgel, S., *Inigo Jones: the Theatre of the Stuart Court*, London, 1973, pp. 53, 55, 61, 62.
- 30 See Strong, *The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, 'Platonic Politics', pp. 49–75; Strong, R., *Art and Power*, Woodbridge, 1984, pp. 154–70 and bibliography n.1, pp. 211–12; Brooks-Davies, D., 'Hermetic Conservatism: the Court Masque', op. cit., pp. 85–123.
- 31 See Serlio, 1619 edn, Book II, fol.44r; Strong, *Art and Power*, pp. 133–41.
- 32 On this see Strong, *Van Dyck*, pp. 90–2.
- 33 For the talismanic aspects to masque, see Brooks-Davies, op. cit., p. 87; see also Strong, *Art and Power*, pp. 37, 41. For this reading of the 'Joyeuse Magnificences', 1581, see Yates, F., *Astraea*, London, 1975, pp. 149–72; Strong, *Art and Power*, pp. 116–18.
- 34 Jonson, B., *The Masque of Queens*, 1609, lines 660–3; see Brooks-Davies, op. cit., p. 88, who notes the gems as embodying astrological virtues: 'the emeralds and sapphires would be venerean, appropriate to Anne as a woman, and the rubies and carbuncles solar, to celebrate her as queen and ruler.'
- 35 Cited by James as having written 'more curiouslie than profitably' on astrology in *Daemonologie*, Edinburgh, 1597 (ed. G.B.Harrison, 1966), p. 13.
- 36 See Thorndike, L., *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, London, 1923–58, vol. V, Chapter 26, p. 572.
- 37 Quoted in Strong and Orgel, *The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, p. 283.
- 38 See Sharpe, K., *Criticism and Compliment*, Cambridge, 1987, pp. 22–5, 135, and Chapter 5.
- 39 See Brooks-Davies, op. cit., pp. 101, 105, 107.
- 40 All quotations from this masque are from Jonson, B., *Works* (ed. C.Harford and P.Simpson), Oxford, 1925–52 edn, vol. VII, pp. 807–14.
- 41 Strong, *Van Dyck*, pp. 67–74; illustrated in this study are Van Dyck's *Cupid and Psyche*, c. 1639–40, Daniel Mytens's *Charles and Henrietta Maria Depart for the Chase*, c. 1630–32, and *Charles and Henrietta Maria*, c. 1632.
- 42 See Sharpe, op. cit., p. 183. Jonson's stage directions in *Love's Triumph through Callipolis*, 1631, make it clear that the king was 'the middle person...placed in the centre' (lines 103–4). See Parry, G., *Golden Age Restor'd*, Manchester, 1981, p. 192.
- 43 See Thomas, K., *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, London, 1971, pp. 230–3; Bloch, M., *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France* (trans. J.E.Anderson), London, 1973; Strong, *Art and Power*, p. 68.
- 44 See Kantorowicz, E., *The King's Two Bodies*, Princeton, 1957.
- 45 See Parry, op. cit., p. 239.
- 46 The convention of the 'historical year', which was deemed to begin on 25 March, was used until 1752 in England. The published date of 1609 for this speech is therefore adjusted to 1610.
- 47 Jonson, B., *Neus from the New World Discovered in the Moon*, 1620.
- 48 Marcelline, G., *Epithalamium, Gallo-Britannicum*, London, 1625, p. 19.
- 49 Ibid., p. 20.

- 50 Ibid., p. 85.
- 51 Juxon, W., *The Subjects Sorrow: or, Lamentations upon the Death of Brittaines Josiah, King Charles*, London, 1649, p. 23.
- 52 See Brooks-Davies, op. cit., pp. 16–17.
- 53 Ibid., p. 54, pp. 61–2.
- 54 Ibid., pp. 90–1.
- 55 Text in Nichols, J., *Progresses...of King James the First*, London, 1828, vol. II, pp. 291–306.
- 56 Bacon, F., 'The Advancement of Learning', *Literary and Professional Works*, (ed. J.Spedding, R.L.Ellis, and D.D.Heath), London, 1857, vol. III, p. 263. This was repeated by James Cleland in *Hero-paideia, or the Institution of a Young Noble Man*, Oxford, 1607, Book II, i, p. 54.
- 57 For a discussion of this role in relation to magic, see Clark, S., 'King James's *Daemonologie*: Witchcraft and Kingship', in Anglo, S. (ed.) *The Damned Art*, London, 1977, p. 165.
- 58 See Parry, op. cit., p. 231.
- 59 On this dedication, see Yates, F., *The Art of Memory*, London, 1966, pp. 322–3.
- 60 John Harris's short-lived Leveller newspaper, the *Mercurius Militaris* of 1648, stated in its first issue that the 'King is an Alchemist, and the Lords are his Mercury': cited by Heinemann, M., *Puritanism and Theatre*, Cambridge, 1980, p. 253.
- 61 Buckingham was frequently associated with Mercury-Hermes, see Parry, op. cit., p. 144. In Rubens's *The Duke of Buckingham Conducted to the Temple of Virtue*, 1625–7, Buckingham is borne heavenwards by Mercury.
- 62 For a discussion of this picture see Miller, O., 'Charles I, Honthorst, and Van Dyck', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 96, 1954, pp. 36–41.
- 63 Buckingham was frequently identified during his life with the practice of magic. Around 1620 he resorted to magic in an attempt to cure the mental disease of his brother, Lord Purbeck. See Davies, R.T., *Four Centuries of Witch Beliefs*, London, 1947, p. 92.
- 64 Reported to be intended for the Banqueting House by Honthorst's assistant, Joachim von Sandrart; see Palme, P., *Triumph of Peace*, London, 1957, p. 263.
- 65 For a factual analysis see Parry, G., *Hollar's England*, Salisbury, 1980, p. 19, plates 52–9.

2 MASQUES, SERMONS, AND THE PROPHETIC 'ALBION AND JERUSALEM'

- 1 See Yates, F., *Astraea*, London, 1975, pp. 9–20.
- 2 See Mebane, J.S., *Renaissance Magic and the Return of the Golden Age*, Lincoln, Nebr., 1989.
- 3 See Thomas, K., *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, London, 1971, pp. 493–6.
- 4 See *ibid.*, pp. 151–78.
- 5 Marcelline, G., *Epithalamium, Gallo-Britannicum*, London, 1625, title page.
- 6 See Yates, F., *The Occult Philosophy*, London, 1979, p. 85; Clulee, N., *John Dee's Natural Philosophy*, London, 1988, p. 222.
- 7 Book I, Chapter 11 is in defence of natural magic, which to Raleigh was 'the wisdom of nature', the process which 'bringeth to light the inmost virtues and draweth them out of nature's bosom to human use', intended for the 'help and comfort of mankind'; quoted and discussed in Hill, C., *Collected Essays*, vol. III, Brighton, 1986, p. 278; Mebane, op. cit., pp. 80–3.

- 8 Discussed by Kendrick, T.D., *British Antiquity*, London, 1950; Brinkley, R.F., *Arthurian Legend in the 17th Century*, Baltimore, 1932; and Gordon, G.J., 'The Trojans in Britain', *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, vol. IX, 1924, pp. 9–30.
- 9 Geoffrey's *History* (trans. S.Evans), London, 1963 edn, Book XII, Chapter 17, p. 262.
- 10 See Westfall, C.W., *In This Most Perfect Paradise*, Pennsylvania, 1974, p. 158.
- 11 Hesiod, *Theogony* (trans. M.L.West), Oxford, 1988, line 215.
- 12 Corbett, M., and Lightbown, R., *The Comely Frontispiece*, London, 1979, p. 156, quotes Selden, who remarks on 'that universall desire, bewitching our Europe, to derive their blood from Trojans', in M.Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*, London, 1622 (the Second Part), I, Selden's notes, p. 18. See also Thomas, op. cit., p. 495.
- 13 See MacDougall, H., *Racial Myth in English History*, Montreal, 1982; Levine, J., *Humanism and History*, Ithaca, 1987, p. 22, influence through Caxton pp. 43–5; Ullmann, W., *On the Influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth in English History*, Freiburg, 1965.
- 14 On the *Faerie Queene*, see Brooks-Davies, D., *The Mercurian Monarch*, Manchester, 1983, especially pp. 42–50.
- 15 Discussed by Strong, R., *Van Dyck*, London, 1972, p. 65.
- 16 For Elizabeth, see Yates, *Astraea*, p. 59; see also Levis, H.C., *Notes on the Early British Engraved Royal Portraits... 1521—C.18th.*, London, 1917.
- 17 Heywood, T., *TROIA BRITANICA*, London, 1609, Dedicatory Epistle.
- 18 Harbert, W., *A PROPHESE of Cadwallader, Last King of the Brittaines*, London, 1604, fol. Hv.
- 19 Drayton, op. cit., 1613, VIII, p. 112.
- 20 On this see Strong, R., *Britannia Triumphans*, London, 1980. Jones's annotations to his 1539 Italian translation of Herodotus' *Herodoto Alicarnaseo historico delle guerre de Greci & de Persi*, Venice, 1539, Book II, p. 59, show his study of the Trojan wars.
- 21 See Sharpe, K., *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, London, 1992, p. 221, Figure 21.
- 22 For a discussion of this masque, see Strong, R., *Henry Prince of Wales*, London, 1986, pp. 142–4.
- 23 See Jonson, B., 'An Execration upon Vulcan', *Ben Jonson* (ed. I.Donaldson), Oxford, 1985, p. 365, and Palme, P., *The Triumph of Peace*, London, 1957, p. 39.
- 24 See Strong, R., *Art and Power*, Woodbridge, 1984, pp. 50–7, 91–5.
- 25 Translated as the *Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry*, see Young, A., *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, London, 1987, pp. 153, 161; Levine, op. cit., p. 48.
- 26 Reported in a letter of Sir John Harrington, reproduced in the Introduction to *Daemonologie* (ed. G.B.Harrison), Edinburgh, 1966, p. vii.
- 27 Wotton, H., *The Elements of Architecture*, London, 1624 (ed. F.Hard, Charlottesville, VA, 1968), p. 120.
- 28 See Evans, M., Introduction to *Arcadia*, Harmondsworth, 1977, p. 9. Pamela's prayer is in Book III, Chapter 6, pp. 463–4.
- 29 See Young, op. cit., pp. 42, 177–9. Jones was himself involved with the design of a pageant device for Richard Preston, Lord Dingwall; see *ibid.*, p. 90. Incidentally, the gallery of Jones's Banqueting House overlooked the tilt yard.
- 30 See Yates, *Astraea*, p. 174.
- 31 Ashmole, E., *The Institution, Laws & Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, London, 1672, pp. 5, 10, refers to 'Roman

Knights'; under 'The Order of Knights of the Round Table', Ashmole notes

The Founder of this most ancient Order, was Arthur king of *Britain*, Crowned in the year of our Lord 516...king *Edward* the Third having designed to restore the Honor of the *Round Table*, held a juste at Windsor, in the 18. year of his Reign...and this meeting in truth occa-sioned the Foundation of the most noble *Order* of the *Garter*.

(pp. 95, 96)

- 32 Drayton, op. cit., XV, p. 244, on Windsor: 'The Temple of *Saint George*, wheras his honored Knights, /Upon his hallowed day, observe their ancient rites.'
- 33 See Miller, O., 'Charles I, Honthorst, and Van Dyck', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 96, 1954, pp. 36-41.
- 34 See Bruno, G., *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* (ed. and trans. A.D. Imerti), New Brunswick, NJ, 1964.
- 35 The adaptations from Bruno are indicated in detail in the notes to Rhodes Dunlop's edition of the masque, in *The Poems of Thomas Carew*, Oxford, 1949, pp. 275-6.
- 36 See Walker, D.P., *The Ancient Theology*, London, 1972, p. 189. Frances Yates has suggested in *The French Academies*, London, 1947, p. 264, that Shake-speare's *Love's Labour's Lost* may owe a specific debt to Bruno. The identity of the king as heroic lover in *Love's Triumph through Callipolis*, 1631, suggests a particular source in Bruno's *Degli eroici furori*: see Parry, G., *Golden Age Restor'd*, Manchester, 1981, p. 186; see also Brooks-Davies, op. cit., p. 100.
- 37 See Strong, R., and Orgel, S., *Inigo Jones: the Theatre of the Stuart Court*, London, 1973, p. 70.
- 38 See Brooks-Davies, op. cit., p. 106.
- 39 Heylyn, P., *THE HISTORIE OF That most famous Saint and Souldier of CHRIST JESUS; St GEORGE of CAPPADOCIA*, London, 1631, p. 81.
- 40 Marcelline, G., *The Triumphs of King James the First*, London, 1610, pp. 65-6.
- 41 Dugdale, W., *The History of St Paul's Cathedral in London*, London, 1658, p. 135.
- 42 Ibid., p. 138.
- 43 King, J., *A Sermon at Paules Cross, on behalf of Paules Church*, 26 March 1620, p. 43.
- 44 Ibid., p. 4.
- 45 Dugdale, op. cit., p. 140.
- 46 CAROLUS D:G. MAGNAE BRITANNIAE, HIBERNIAE, FRANCIAE: REX F:D: TEMPLUM SANCTI PAULI VETUSTATE CONSUMPTUM RESTITUIT ET PORTICUM FECIT.
- 47 Gerbier, B., *A Brief Discourse concerning the three chief Principles of Magnificent Building*, London, 1662, pp. 43-4.
- 48 In Fairholt, F.W., *Lord Mayors' Pageants: being Collections towards a History of These Annual Celebrations*, London, 1843, Part II, pp. 11-31, quotation p. 20.
- 49 See Stevenson, D., *The Origins of Freemasonry, Scotland's Century, 1590-1710*, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 20-1, 120-1. For the civic rituals of the medieval building craft guilds, see Knoop, D. and Jones, G.P., *The Genesis of Freemasonry*, Manchester, 1947, pp. 41-52, 63-6. On medieval city religious rites and rituals in general, see Simpson, W.S., *Old City Life*, London, 1894.
- 50 Bolton, E., *The Cities Advocate*, London, 1629, p. 56.

- 51 Thomas Fuller reported that 'I have heard his skill in chemistry much commended; and he presented a precious extraction to King James, reputed a great preserver of health, and prolonger of life', in *The Worthies of England* (ed. J. Freeman), London, 1952 edn, p. 615.
- 52 Thornborough, J., *A Discourse, showing the Great Happinesse, that bath, and may still accrue to his Majesties Kingdomes of ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, BY RE-UNITING them into one Great Britain*, London, 1641, p. 197.
- 53 Ibid., pp. 147–8, 269.
- 54 Ibid., p. 156.
- 55 Ibid., p. 220.
- 56 Ibid., pp. 192, 196.
- 57 Gordon, J., *The Union of Great Brittain*, London, 1604.
- 58 Gordon, J., *England and Scotlands Happinesse*, London, 1604, p. 24.
- 59 Marcelline, op. cit., p. 89.
- 60 Quoted in the *Dictionary of National Biography (DNB)*, 1937–8 edn, entry for Gordon.
- 61 This was also to be found in the work of James Ussher, for example. See Trevor-Roper, H., *Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans*, London, 1987, pp. 135–6.
- 62 Gordon, *The Union of Great Brittain*, p. 4.
- 63 Gordon, J., **ΕΙΡΗΝΟΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ**. *THE PEACE OF THE COMMUNION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND*, London, 1612, 'The First Thesis': 'it seemeth that the posteritie of mizram, sonne to *Cham*, sonne of *Noah*, which did first inhabite Egypt, did retaine the true name of God, which they learned of *Noah*, but afterwards, it was converted to a fabulous idols'. See also Chapter 3 of this book.
- 64 *Pulpit-Occurrents*, quoted in *DNB* entry for Gordon.
- 65 Gordon, J., 'Preached...in presence of the Kings Majesty', part of the sermon's title page.
- 66 See Williamson, A.H., *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI*, Edinburgh, 1979, pp. 102–3.
- 67 Gordon, J., **ΕΝΩΤΙΚΟΝ**, London, 1604, p. 25.
- 68 Ibid., margin p. 28.
- 69 Webb, J., *AN HISTORICAL ESSAY...the Primitive LANGUAGE*, London, 1669, in dedication to Charles II.
- 70 Ibid., p. 204.
- 71 Marcelline, op. cit., pp. 58, 57.
- 72 Gordon, **ΕΝΩΤΙΚΟΝ**, p. 33.
- 73 Ibid., pp. 34–5.
- 74 Gordon, *England and Scotlands Happinesse*, p. 44.
- 75 Gordon, **ΕΝΩΤΙΚΟΝ**, p. 26.
- 76 See Williams, G., 'Some Protestant Views of Early British Church History', in *Welsh Reformation Essays*, Cardiff, 1967, Chapter 9, pp. 214–15.
- 77 Discussed by Strong, *Britannia Triumphans*, p. 24.
- 78 Howell, J., *LONDONOPOLIS*, London, 1657, p. 79.
- 79 Dugdale, op. cit., p. 3.
- 80 Geoffrey, op. cit., Book V, Chapter 6, pp. 94–5.
- 81 Gordon, **ΕΝΩΤΙΚΟΝ**, p. 46.
- 82 For the theory of Constantine in relation to Scotland, see Williamson, op. cit., especially p. 26.
- 83 Gordon, **ΕΝΩΤΙΚΟΝ**, p. 46.
- 84 Marcelline, op. cit., p. 27.
- 85 Gordon, **ΕΝΩΤΙΚΟΝ**, p. 43.
- 86 Gordon, *The Union of Great Brittain*, p. 4.

- 87 Ibid., pp. 42–3.
- 88 Howell, op. cit., p. 4.
- 89 See Williams, op. cit., p. 217.
- 90 See Williamson, op. cit., pp. 1–3, 103–4; for Scottish objections see pp. 20–6; and for the Apocalypse as an aspect of union with Scotland see Chapter 4, pp. 86–96. For formation under Elizabeth, see Haller, W., *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation*, London, 1963, pp. 66–8, 132–3.
- 91 See Pilkington, J., *The Burnynge of Paules Church in London in the year of our Lord 1561*, London, 1563.
- 92 Gordon, *England and Scotlands Happinesse*, p. 13.
- 93 See Clulee, op. cit.; on the unity of religions and Dee's European travels see pp. 221–2; on Dee's vision of a British empire and British 'Cabala', see pp. 182–3, 190.
- 94 See Yates, F., *Giordano Bruno*, London, 1964. For an alternative view see Bossy, J., *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair*, London and New Haven, 1991, especially pp. 162–4; whilst Bossy discounts Yates's mission of union theory, he fails to provide any alternative reason for Bruno's visit to England and the hospitality of the French embassy.
- 95 See Rykwert, J., *The First Moderns*, London and Cambridge, Mass., 1980, pp. 139, 215 n.131; Tyacke, N., *Anti-Calvinists*, Oxford 1987, p. 133.
- 96 See Walker, op. cit., Chapter 5.
- 97 See Prynne, W., *A Brieve Survey and Censure of Mr Cozens His Couzening Devotions*, London, 1628, p. 4.
- 98 Descriptions of the decorations at St Paul's in 1502 for the marriage of the son of Henry VII, Arthur (consciously named after Geoffrey's hero), to Katherine, daughter of the king of Spain, contain an obscure reference to a 'ferrament vocat Stonehenge'. British Library M.S., Egerton 2358, fol.2r.
- 99 Aubrey, J., *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, Harmondsworth, 1972 edn, p. 139.
- 100 For a discussion of the authorship of this work, see the Appendix.
- 101 Jones, I., *STONE-HENG Restored*, London, 1655 edn, p. 102.
- 102 See Morolli, G., *Vetus Etruria*, Florence, 1985.
- 103 Jones, op. cit., pp. 14, 40.
- 104 Reported in Walpole, H., *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, vol. II, London, 1782 edn, p. 275.
- 105 Jones, op. cit., p. 43.
- 106 See Levine, op. cit., p. 148.
- 107 Jones, op. cit., p. 16.
- 108 Ibid., p. 39.
- 109 For the Druids as ancient philosophers, see Walker, op. cit., pp. 2, 20, 63, 73, 87–8, 94. As a theme in Stuart literature, see Brooks-Davies, op. cit., 'Druids, Egyptians, and the Norman Yoke', pp. 150–79.
- 110 Jones, op. cit., pp. 2, 3. Jones's margin notes Pliny, *Natural History*, xvi (250–1, on the Druid 'magicians').
- 111 See Chapter 5.
- 112 Discussed by Orgel, S., 'Inigo Jones on Stonehenge', *Prose*, vol.3, 1971, pp. 122–3.
- 113 Jones, op. cit., pp. 91, 96, 100.
- 114 Ibid., p. 101.
- 115 See Rykwert, J., *On Adam's House in Paradise*, New York, 1972.
- 116 See the Appendix.
- 117 See *ibid.*
- 118 Charleton, W., *CHOREA GIGANTUM*, London, 1663 (quotations from 1725 edn), pp. 23, 26.
- 119 Ibid., p. 7.
- 120 See Fisch, H., *Jerusalem and Albion*, London, 1964. For these themes in the work of John Milton, see Haller, op. cit., pp. 238–40.

- 121 See Clark, S., 'King James's *Daemonologie*: Witchcraft and Kingship', in Anglo, S. (ed.) *The Damned Art*, London, 1977, pp. 174–6.
- 122 See Patrides, C.A. and Wittreich, J. (eds), *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance thought and literature*, Manchester, 1984, pp. 175–206; Sommerville, J.P., *Politics and Ideology in England, 1603–1640*, London, 1986, pp. 27–8.
- 123 James I, *Basilikon Doron*, London, 1603, in *Political Works of James I* (ed. C.H. MacIlwain), Cambridge, Mass., 1918, pp. 73–4.

3 HERALDRY AND THE ARCHITECTURAL ORDERS AS JOINT EMBLEMS OF 'THE HOUSE OF BRITISH CHIVALRY'

- 1 For a discussion of Webb's study, and his general interest in arcane theory, see Bold, J., *John Webb*, Oxford, 1989, pp. 36–47. Webb quotes from Kircher's *China Monumentis*, Amsterdam, 1667. For a discussion of Kircher, see Godwin, J., *Athanasius Kircher*, London, 1979; Rykwert, J., *The First Moderns*, London and Cambridge, Mass., 1980, pp. 65, 67, 162; Taylor, R., 'Hermetic and Mystical Architecture in the Society of Jesus', in R. Wittkower (ed.) *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, New York, 1972, pp. 81–91.
- 2 See Daly, P.M., *Literature in the Light of the Emblem*, Toronto, 1979, pp. 11–16; Stevenson, D., *The Origins of Freemasonry, Scotland's Century, 1590–1710*, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 79–82; Strong, R., *Art and Power*, Woodbridge, 1984, pp. 22–8.
- 3 Webb, J., *HISTORICAL ESSAY*, London, 1669, on Hermes p. 30, quotation p. 152.
- 4 See Holtgen, K.J., *Aspects of the Emblem*, Kassel, 1986; Daly, op. cit.
- 5 See Young, A., *Henry Peacham*, Boston, 1979.
- 6 Jonson, B., *Hymenaei*, 1606, line 18; for Jonson's use of emblem books, see Strong, op. cit., p. 25.
- 7 Jones's use of the emblem books of Ripa and Valeriano is noted by Harris, J., Orgel, S., and Strong, R., *The King's Arcadia*, London, 1973, p. 68. See also Gilbert, A.H., *The Symbolic Persons in the Masques of Ben Jonson*, Durham, NC, 1948, and Rykwert, op. cit., p. 202 n.35.
- 8 'An Expostulation W[ith] Inigo Jones', *Ben Jonson* (ed. I. Donaldson), Oxford, 1985, p. 463, line 43.
- 9 See Chapter 5.
- 10 See Strong, op. cit., pp. 25–6; for a discussion of the relationship between heraldry and emblems see Daly, op. cit., pp. 27–32.
- 11 Bolton, E., *The Elements of Armories*, London, 1610, Dedicatory poem, entitled 'H.C. To the Gentleman Reader'.
- 12 Ibid., pp. 173–4.
- 13 Marcelline, G., *The Triumphs of King James the First*, London, 1610, p. 41.
- 14 Ibid., p. 13.
- 15 For this see Strong, R., *Van Dyck*, London, 1972, pp. 59–60.
- 16 For this see Brooks-Davies, D., *The Mercurian Monarch*, Manchester, 1983, pp. 60, 106.
- 17 Marcelline, op. cit., p. 93.
- 18 For the alchemical content, see Brooks-Davies, op. cit., pp. 101–2.
- 19 Marcelline, op. cit., p. 28.
- 20 Ibid., pp. 29, 30.
- 21 Ariosto, L., *Orlando furioso*, Harmondsworth, 1975 edn, 2.55; see also 3.67; 4.17; 6.67; 7.76; 8.10; 10.49, 107; 11.8; 22.67, 92.
- 22 For a discussion of the pentagon as 'Solomon's seal', see Rosenau, H., *Vision of the Temple*, London, 1979, p. 97.

- 23 See Agrippa, H.C., *De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres*, Book II, Chapter 27 (ed. V.Perrone Compagni, Leiden, 1992, pp. 328–39).
- 24 For a more detailed study of this subject see Hart, V., 'Heraldry and the Architectural Orders as Joint Emblems of British Chivalry', *RES*, vol. 23, Spring 1993, pp. 52–66.
- 25 Discussed more fully in Chapter 6.
- 26 Undated document reproduced by Summerson, J., 'Three Elizabethan Architects', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. 40, 1957, pp. 202–28; quotation p. 228.
- 27 Chapman, G., *Hymnus in Cynthiam*, 1594, lines 188–9 in *Poems* (ed. P. Bartlett), New York, 1941, p. 35; for possible references to Agrippa, see Yates, F., *The Occult Philosophy*, London, 1979, pp. 135–46.
- 28 Gordon, J., *EIPHNOKOINΩNIA*, London, 1612, 'The First Thesis'.
- 29 See Stevenson, op. cit., pp. 146–7.
- 30 Discussed by Harris, J., and Higgott, G., *Inigo Jones, Complete Architectural Drawings*, New York, 1989, p. 46.
- 31 See Strong, R., *The Renaissance Garden in England*, London, 1979, pp. 23–44, 53.
- 32 See Rykwert, J., *On Adam's House in Paradise*, New York, 1972, p. 122; Rykwert, *The First Moderns*, p. 135:

In biblical commentary generally, and in hermetic thinking more particularly, [the Temple]...was the image of production as the path to salva-tion. There can be little doubt that many masons in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw certain tasks as aspects of the masonic 'work'.

- 33 Dee, J., 'Preface', *EUCLID*, London, 1570, diij.
- 34 See Rykwert, *Adam's House*, pp. 121–35; Rykwert, *The First Moderns*, pp. 9–10; Taylor, op. cit.
- 35 See Taylor, op. cit., pp. 76–9.
- 36 Dugdale, W., *THE ANTIENT USAGE*, Oxford, 1682, pp. 34–5.
- 37 Bolton, op. cit., p. 80.
- 38 Guillim, J., *A Display of Heraldrie*, London, 1610–11 edn, Dedicatory epistle.
- 39 Bolton, op. cit., Dedicatory poem.
- 40 Dee, op. cit., diij.
- 41 Guillim, op. cit., 1632 edn, in 'To the Courteous Reader'.
- 42 Ibid., p. 307.
- 43 Serlio, S., *The Architettura* (trans. V.Hart and P.Hicks), London and New Haven, 1994. Inigo Jones studied Serlio's Book IV, and in his 1560 edition he summarised the idea that the details of the Doric Order may be varied from solid to delicate according to the degree of 'Dillicasie or strength' (fol.17r) in the character of the patron.
- 44 See Chapter 5.
- 45 Alberti, L.B., *On the Art of Building in Ten Books* (trans. J.Rykwert, N.Leach, and R.Tavernor), London and Cambridge, Mass., 1988, p. 156.
- 46 Wotton, H., *The Elements of Architecture*, London, 1624 (ed. F.Hard, Charlottesville, VA, 1968), p. 75.
- 47 This Vitruvian-Pythagoreanism is made explicit by Wotton in his remarks on the Tuscan Order which are quoted in Chapter 6.
- 48 Wotton, op. cit., p. 36.
- 49 Ibid., p. 37.
- 50 Ibid., p. 30; a list follows this term.
- 51 Ibid., p. 37.
- 52 Ibid., pp. 33–4.

- 53 Ibid., p. 37.
- 54 Ibid., p. 39.
- 55 Ibid., p. 43.
- 56 Guillim, op. cit., p. 15.
- 57 Quoted by Hard, F., Introduction to Wotton's *Elements*, 1968 edn, pp. xlv–xlvi. Chamberlain had advised Jones in 1620 on the 'restoration' of St Paul's; see Dugdale, W., *History*, London, 1658, p. 136.
- 58 Palladio, Lib.I, Corinthian Order p. 50, Ionic pp. 36, 30.
- 59 Bolton, op. cit., p. 92: 'Armes are in sort the onely remayning customary evidences, or testimonies of Noblesse, now that neyther Statues, Arcks, Obelisks, Tropheas, Spires nor other publike magnificent erections are in use.'
- 60 In the *OED* 'Blazon' and 'Blazonry' are both defined as heraldic in meaning. Guillim, op. cit., p. 13: 'This skill of *Armory* consisteth of Blazoning and Marshalling.'
- 61 It was the established role of the Garter King of Arms to oversee the design and grant the use of arms to, for example, the twelve London companies; see J. Stow, *The Survey of London*, London, 1633 edn, pp. 599–620.
- 62 Dugdale, *History*, p. 135, reports that the Garter Knights on St Paul's restoration committee were: James I, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, William, Earl of Pembroke (Lord Chamberlain), Lodovick, Duke of Lennox (Lord Steward), James, Marquess Hamilton, Henry, Earl of Southampton, and John, Earl of Marr. Charles, as Prince of Wales, took part in James's procession to St Paul's in 1620.
- 63 See Chapter 5.
- 64 See Loftie, W.J., *The Inns of Court and Chancery*, Southampton, 1895 edn, p. 32.
- 65 See Palme, P., *The Triumph of Peace*, London, 1957, p. 123:

The ceremonies connected with the cult of sovereignty...fused an ecclesiastical tradition of processional liturgy with a secular tradition of martial display. This compounded is...relevant...if we attempt to describe the Banqueting House as a realm of specific human activities, and, moreover, if we endeavour to understand the interrelation between these and its formal structure.

- 66 See Rykwert, *The First Moderns*, pp. 210 n.94, 134: noting Lord Herbert of Cherbury

regarded his knighthood as an initiation into a mystery. So did Ashmole, presumably, his entry into a masonic lodge.... It is often forgotten that medieval society was made up of a continuous tissue...ranging from the pious associations of agricultural laborers to the grandest orders of chivalry ...the link between chivalry and masonry still seemed easy enough to establish. Elias Ashmole makes it in his description of 'the elegant and beauteous structure' of St George's Chapel at Windsor, which was the home of the Order of the Garter.

- 67 See Yates, F., *The Art of Memory*, London, 1966.
- 68 Dugdale (*History*, p. 227) records that the cathedral library, not surprisingly, contained a number of copies of 'Tullius in *Rethoricis*'. The *Rhetorica ad C. Herennium* and the *De Inventione Rhetorica*, then credited to Cicero, formed one of the antique sources for the rules of artificial memory. During Henry VI's reign 'The Dance of Death' was added to the cloister, comprising a set of 'emblems' for the medieval estates—from 'Pope', 'Emperor', 'Cardinal', 'King', 'Bishop', down to 'Child'. Each was accompanied by a verse and in total formed a visible sermon or, perhaps,

- with the cloister's contemplative role in mind, a kind of didactic mnemonic sequence; *ibid.*, pp. 132, 290–4. Discussed by Lethaby, W., 'Old St Paul's—VI', *The Builder*, 5 September 1930, p. 395.
- 69 Yates, *The Art of Memory*, p. 124. See also Rykwert, *The First Moderns*, p. 126.
- 70 See Stevenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–96.
- 71 Bruno, G., *Ars reminiscendi*, London, c. 1583. For Bruno's 'Explicatio triginta sigillorum' and 'Sigillus sigillorum', see Yates, F., *Giordano Bruno*, London, 1964, pp. 205, 271.
- 72 Lull's memory wheels bear a close similarity to Alberti's cypher wheel as illustrated in his *De Componendis Cifris*. For music and memory, see Berger, K., *Musica Ficta: Theories of Accidental Inflections in Vocal Polyphony from Marchetto da Padova to Gioseffo Zarlino*, Cambridge, 1987, p. 16. See also Yates, F., 'The Art of Ramon Lull', *J.W.C.I.*, vol. 17, nos 1 and 2, 1954, p. 166.
- 73 For a discussion of Bruno's occult system of memory, see Yates, *Memory*, pp. 243–65.
- 74 See *ibid.*, pp. 131–45.
- 75 On Fludd as a Paracelsian, see Debus, A., *The English Paracelsians*, London, 1965, pp. 105–27.
- 76 For an interpretation of Fludd's memory system, see Yates, *Memory*, Chapter 15; Yates, F., *Theatre of the World*, London, 1969; Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, Chapter 22.
- 77 See Yates, *Memory*, Chapter 16; Yates, *Theatre*.
- 78 Flyleaf three, verso, records 'for an ordinary Glisten Doc: Harvey', and flyleaf four, verso, 'for to avoyde gravell &c from Mor Sanci. and said to bee good by Doc: Harvy'.
- 79 See Rykwert, *The First Moderns*, p. 203 n.39.
- 80 See Hoffman, W., *Robert Fludd*, London 1988, pp. 36–49, 209–21. Palme, *op. cit.*, p. 291 n.2:

The pathetic hero of contemporary Pythagorean mathematics was, of course, Robert Fludd. His chapter on the visual arts appended to *Utriusque Cosmi Maioris*, 1617, should be studied with care—text and illustrations—by anyone interested in the 'mathematical' interpretation of Jones's architecture.

Yates, *Theatre*, pp. 83–5:

Fludd's technical history should, I suggest, be studied by those interested in Jones and the Stuart masque as probably the work representing most closely the theoretical background of the early Jones productions...let us consider the remarkable parallels between the lives of Inigo Jones and Robert Fludd.... Compare...Jones's design for a palace in the masque of *Oberon*...with Fludd's Temple of Music.

Rykwert also accepted links between the two (*The First Moderns*, pp. 127, 205 n.58).

- 81 Aubrey, J., *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, Harmondsworth, 1972, p. 177.
- 82 See Yates, *Memory*, pp. 370, 375–6.
- 83 See Dugdale, W., *op. cit.*, p. 135.
- 84 See Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
- 85 *Ibid.*, pp. 95–6.
- 86 *Ibid.*, pp. 140–2.

- 87 The 'Register House Manuscript', quoted and discussed as a possible memory building in *ibid.*, p. 139.
- 88 The title page of both editions suggests a magical interpretation through a quotation from the work of Jerome Cardan; for Cardan, see Chapter 1 and Thorndike, L., *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, London, 1923–58, vol. V, Chapter 26, pp. 562–79. Willis's 1618 edition has a larger occult content, with its reference to 'a *skillfull Alchymist*' (p. 22), alchemical emblematics ('a *Serpent* with a tail in his mouth, for a *year*', p. 76) and reference to Paracelsus (p. 87).
- 89 See Yates, *Memory*, pp. 336–8.
- 90 Willis, J., *The Art of Memory*, London, 1621, p. 48.
- 91 Willis, J., *Mnemonica*, London, 1618, p. 59 (English translation, London, 1661).
- 92 *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 95, for example, for a 'vain-glorious knight', 'Imagine an armed Knight, of a fierce Martial aspect, with a long Beard, walking in a memorial place, bearing a white Shield on his left arm'.

4 GARDENS AND THE ILLUSION OF NATURAL MAGIC

- 1 Used by Campanella to mean that worked by mechanical means; discussed by Yates, F., *Giordano Bruno*, London, 1964, pp. 147–9.
- 2 Agrippa, H.C., *De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres*, Book II, Chapter 1 (ed. V. Perrone Compagni, Leiden, 1992, pp. 249–51).
- 3 In Jonson's *Alchemist* (III, iv, 87–93) a perspective view forms one of the occult tricks which the play ridicules.
- 4 For the early influence of perspective on architecture, see Strong, R., *Art and Power*, Woodbridge, 1984, pp. 32–5; Kemp, M., *The Science of Art*, New Haven, Conn., 1990, especially Chapter 1.
- 5 Jones's study of perspective theory is evident from his Vitruvius in which for example he notes: 'Prospective takts its subiecte from too scienses from Geometri the lins and from the naturali the sight or optike', Book I, Chapter 1, against Barbaro line 48.
- 6 Wotton refers to Dürer's *Underweysung der Messung*, Nuremberg, 1525. Dürer is also cited by Wotton on pp. 50 and 95 of the *Elements* (1624). For Dürer on perspective, and linear perspective in general, see Kemp, *op. cit.*, Chapter 2, pp. 53 ff.; Panofsky, E., *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton, 1971 edn, pp. 242 ff.
- 7 Under 'Anthropographie': 'The excellent, *Albert Durer*, a good part: the Arte of Perspective, will somewhat, for the Eye, help forward' (Dee, 'Preface' to *EUCLID*, London, 1570, ciiij). Dürer is also referred to in the 1611 English translation of Serlio (an addition to Serlio's text in Book I, fol.11v.). This was dedicated to Prince Henry, to whom Jones had been Surveyor, and paid for by Robert Peake (portrait painter to Henry).
- 8 See Hersey, G., *Pythagorean Palaces*, Ithaca, NY, 1976, pp. 81–7.
- 9 In his 1601 edition of Serlio, Jones copies Serlio's illustrations in Book I of a vase (fol.12r) and door (fol.16r) ordered within 'linee occulte', and notes Serlio's illustration of a hexagon in perspective in Book II (fol.20v).
- 10 Serlio's 'Tragic' backdrop is reflected in a scene by Jones for this masque and Serlio's 'Satiric' scene for one in *Artenice* (1626). See in general Orrell, J., *The Theatres of Inigo Jones and John Webb*, Cambridge, 1985.
- 11 Dee, *op. cit.*, bj.
- 12 For a study of Dee's practical influence see Yates, F., *Theatre of the World*, London, 1969.
- 13 Ficino, M., *Opera Omnia*, Basel, 1576, vol. I, pp. 559–60.
- 14 Dee, *op. cit.*, Aj.

- 15 Ibid., Aij.
- 16 Ibid., Aijj.
- 17 See Evans, R., *Rudolf II and His World*, Oxford, 1973, Chapters 5–7.
- 18 See Yates, F., *The Occult Philosophy*, London, 1979, p. 45.
- 19 Charleton, W., *CHOREA GIGANTUM*, London, 1663, p. 46; and Webb, J., *VINDICATION*, London, 1725 edn, p. 216.
- 20 See Rye, W.B., *England as Seen by Foreigners*, London, 1865, pp. 61, 232–42 n.84.
- 21 Barbaro, Vitruvius, p. 462.
- 22 Wilkins, J., *Mathematicall MAGICK*, London, 1648, p. 63.
- 23 On Jones's proscenium design, see Gordon, D.J., 'Poet and Architect', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 12, 1949, pp. 152–78.
- 24 Pointed out by Strong, R., and Orgel, S., *Inigo Jones: the Theatre of the Stuart Court*, London, 1973, especially pp. 20, 23.
- 25 See *ibid.*, 'The Mechanics of Platonism', Chapter 2, pp. 15–27; Orrell, *op. cit.*
- 26 Quoted in Strong and Orgel, *op. cit.*, p. 283; see also Chapter 1 of this book.
- 27 See Strong and Orgel, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–2; Strong, R., *Henry Prince of Wales*, London, 1986, p. 170.
- 28 Guildhall MS. 25,471 W.A.5, November 1635, notes 'John Snoett, Carpenter payed for framing and setting upp of two great cranes, one at the Tower wharf the other at St Paul's wharf.' The crane at St Paul's wharf evidently later col-lapsed in raising a cornice stone for the west face (W.A.15, May 1641). W.A.13, October 1639 and July 1641, notes 'in laying over above great peece of Tymber from the head of the great shivers to the church, for the taking up and setting of the Capitalls and Architrave on the northend of the portico at the westend of the church'. See also *London Topographical Record*, vol. 18, 1942, iv, p. 43, 'Ropes, Pulles or any other tooles whatsoever'.
- 29 For a discussion of this pulley, see Bold, J., *John Webb*, Oxford, 1989, p. 168.
- 30 Dee, *op. cit.*, dj.
- 31 See Debus, A., *The English Paracelsians*, London, 1965, p. 29.
- 32 The alchemical Hesperidean garden, with its golden apples, formed the main subject of *Atalanta fugiens*; see Brooks-Davies, D., *The Mercurian Monarch*, Manchester, 1983, p. 101. For the garden as the realm of spiritual enlightenment in the 'sacred emblems' of George Wither (1635), Henry Hawkins (1633), and Francis Quarles (1635), see Strong, R., *The Renaissance Garden in England*, London, 1979, pp. 206–11.
- 33 Rudolf II's 'alchemical' artist and mechanical engineer Arcimboldo equated the four elements with the seasons in a series of paintings; see Kriegeskorte, W., *Arcimboldo*, Berlin, 1987, pp. 24–7.
- 34 See Strong, R., *Van Dyck*, London, 1972, pp. 77–81. For 'pastoral' elements in the garden of Danvers House, Chelsea (c. 1622), see Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, pp. 176–9, on the sphinxes:

they are always symbols of ancient wisdom, complementary to the allusions to Golden Age pastoral innocence in the shepherds...entrance into the garden is seen through the sphinxes to be an act of seeking lost ancient wisdom, a return to the Golden Age and to the Eden of man before the Fall.
- 35 See Girouard, M., *Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House*, London, 1983, 'The Device in Architecture', pp. 24–8; Orrell, J., *The Human Stage*, Cambridge, 1988, 'Goodly devices: emblematic design', pp. 49–60.
- 36 Browne, T., *The Garden of Cyrus*, London, 1658, pp. 192, 103; for Browne, see Nicolson, M.H., *The Breaking of the Circle*, New York, 1960, pp. 47–50.
- 37 For a history of Tycho Brahe, see Koestler, A., *The Sleepwalkers*, London, 1959, pp. 286–304; Thoren, V.E., *The Lord of Uraniborg*, Cambridge, 1990.

- 38 See F.Hard's notes to his edition of Wotton, H., *The Elements of Architecture*, Charlottesville, VA, 1968 edn, p. 138 (note to text, p. 113). For these illustrations see Brahe, T., *Astronomica Instauratae Mechanica* (trans. H.Raeder and E. Stromgren), Copenhagen, 1946.
- 39 Anon., 'A True Description and Direction of what is Most Worthy to be Seen in all Italy', in *The Harleian Miscellany* (ed. W.Oldys), London, 1810, vol. V, p. 31. For the hydraulic automata at the Burgundy castle of Hesdin, see Vaughan, R., *Philip the Good*, London, 1970, pp. 137–9.
- 40 For Pratolino's garden, see Dixon-Hunt, J., *The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination 1600–1750*, London, 1986, especially pp. 54–7; on the reliance of Renaissance festivals on engineering, see Strong, *Art and Power*, pp. 36–8.
- 41 See Summerson, J., 'The Book of Architecture of John Thorpe', *Walpole Society*, vol. 40, 1966, p. 89 (T 167 and 168), pl.77 notes: 'Qs Chaple; und' thes steares is an He vawlted very faire wth 3 rockes made very artificially wth byrds, stones & organs going wth water Ec'.
- 42 Plot, R., *Natural History of Oxford-shire*, London, 1677, p. 236.
- 43 On grottoes as mechanical theatres, see Dixon-Hunt, op. cit., pp. 59–72.
- 44 In *Oberon*, 1611, for example, this contrast was made apparent with the movement from 'a dark rock', 'all wildness', to a 'bright and glorious palace', the rooms of which are later shown 'in perspective'.
- 45 At Sir Thomas Vavasour's Ham House of 1610 at Petersham near Richmond, for example. For the 'perspective' garden as a corollary of Divine Right, see Dixon-Hunt, op. cit., p. 119.
- 46 Fanshawe's garden had been remodelled c. 1613 on the 'theme' of water, reflecting de Caus's work for the royal palaces.
- 47 For this theme in *Chloridia* and *Love's Triumph* (1631), see Strong, *Art and Power*, pp. 163–4. For the garden of light in *Luminalia* (1638), see Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, pp. 200–3. See also Dixon-Hunt, op. cit., pp. 110–19.
- 48 Isaac is sometimes referred to as the son or nephew of Salomon de Caus; see Harris, J., Orgel, S., and Strong, R., *The King's Arcadia*, London, 1973, p. 45.
- 49 On Henry's use of the arts and relationship with Salomon de Caus, see Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales*, pp. 91–2, 106–10, 170–1.
- 50 On de Caus, perspective, and magic, see Perez-Gomez, A., *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science*, Cambridge, Mass., 1985, pp. 171–4; Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales*, pp. 109, 170.
- 51 See Harris *et al.*, op. cit., pp. 43–5; Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, on Richmond pp. 97–103, on Hatfield House pp. 103–10.
- 52 Ottaviano Lotti, the Tuscan agent in London, to Belisario Vinta, 15 June 1611, Archivio di Stato, Florence 4189.
- 53 See Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales*, pp. 88–9, 92.
- 54 See Chapter 7; for the garden as setting for Stuart Court ritual, see Dixon-Hunt, op. cit., pp. 112–13.
- 55 See Patterson, R., 'The "Hortus Palatinus" at Heidelberg and the Reformation of the World', *Journal of Garden History*, vol. 1, 1981, pp. 67–104, 179–202; on Bacon's garden theory pp. 183–6; Yates, F., *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, London, 1972, especially pp. 67–8.
- 56 Dee, op. cit., dj.
- 57 See Smith, L.P. (ed.) *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, Oxford, 1907, vol. I, p. 145.
- 58 See Rykwert, J., *The First Moderns*, London, 1976, p. 128.
- 59 Wotton, op. cit., pp. 108–9.
- 60 Caus, S.de, *Les Raisons*, Paris, 1624, Book Two, 'Problem XXVIII', illustrates a woman facing towards a fountain, squeezing water from her dress.
- 61 Wotton, op. cit., pp. 113–14.
- 62 Caus, op. cit., Book Two, 'Problem VIII', illustrates an aviary including a furnace with chimneys.

- 63 See Battisti, E., 'Natura Artificiosa to Natura Artificialis', in D.Coffin (ed.) *The Italian Garden*, Washington, 1972, pp. 19–20 and n.40.
- 64 See Dixon-Hunt, op. cit., p. 135.
- 65 On this grotto, see Palme, P., *The Triumph of Peace*, London, 1957, p. 66.
- 66 See Strong, R., *Lost Treasures of Britain*, London, 1990, pp. 170–9; Bold, J. and Reeves, J., *Wilton House and English Palladianism*, London, 1988, pp. 80–90; Dixon-Hunt, op. cit., pp. 139–42.
- 67 Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, pp. 147–64.
- 68 Fragments remain in situ, like the Venus Fountain at Bolsover Castle for example. The Bolsover garden was seen as a 'garden of love', as the setting for Jonson's masque *Love's Welcome at Bolsover*, 1634.

5 ARCHITECTURE AND THE GEOMETRY OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE

- 1 For a discussion of this analogy in relation to the Banqueting House at Whitehall, see Palme, P., *The Triumph of Peace*, London, 1957, pp. 23–4.
- 2 See sermon 'Preached at Lincolns Inne, Preparing them to build their Chappell', *The Sermons of John Donne* (ed. G.R.Potter, and E.M.Simpson), Berkeley, Calif, 1953, vol. II, no. 10, p. 217. During 1618 John Donne was closely involved with Jones's design for a new chapel at Lincoln's Inn which, as a 'gate of Heaven', represented an offering equivalent to that made by Solomon in building his temple; see Bald, R.C., *John Donne, a Life*, Oxford, 1970, pp. 329–30.
- 3 Dugdale, W., *The History of St Paul's Cathedral*, London, 1658, p. 135.
- 4 King, J., *A Sermon at Paules Crosse, on behalfe of Paules Church*, London, 1620, pp. 43, 46–7.
- 5 The works accounts record carved cherubim (W.A.9) and lions' heads (W.A.5). Hollar's illustrations to Dugdale's *History* show the head of a winged cherub over each keystone of the nave windows, and Sir Roger Pratt reports that lions' heads formed a frieze (Gunther, R.T. (ed.) *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt*, Oxford, 1928, p. 197).
- 6 Jones used a 'quasi-Tuscan' for the nave, Doric for the lesser doorways, Ionic for the greater, and Corinthian for the front; see Summerson, J., *Inigo Jones*, Harmondsworth, 1966, p. 104, and Palme, op. cit., p. 24.
- 7 Recorded in Josten, C.H. (ed.) *Elias Ashmole 1617–1692, His Autobiographical and Historical Notes*, Oxford, 1966, vol. II, p. 315; n.7 suggests that this was in reference to Jones's church in Covent Garden, but it cannot be so for work on this church was begun in 1631, as Howe's edition of Stow's *Chronicle* for that year records on p. 1049. This was almost finished by the end of 1633; see Channing Downs, A., 'Inigo Jones's Covent Garden', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 26, 1967, p. 11. For Ashmole's horoscopes determining building foundation, see Conder, E., 'King Charles II at the Royal Exchange, London, in 1667', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, vol. 11, 1898, pp. 138–51.
- 8 Recorded in Prynne, W., *Canterburies Doome, or the first part of a Compleat History of the Commitment, Charge, Tryall, Condemnation and Execution of William Laud*, London, 1646, pp. 126, 497–9.
- 9 Wotton, H., *The Elements of Architecture*, London, 1624 (ed. F.Hard, Charlottesville, VA, 1968), p. 3.
- 10 See Thomas, K., *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, London, 1971, pp. 140, 152, 433, 438, 597. Prayer could, according to Laud, overcome even the dire effects of an astrological conjunction of Saturn and Mars, since God could hinder malign aspects and overrule conjunctions; see Scott, W., and Bliss,

- J. (eds) *The Works of... William Laud*, Oxford, 1847–60, vol. I, p. 169, vol. III, p. 140 (astrology), p. 144 (dreams).
- 11 Jones's last annotation in his *Palladio* states: 'Out of Hipocrates his fisitious ffeare from the 25 of September unto ye 13 of May, but his comenter saith to the 24 of Junne, to youse Venus'. Astrology featured in Vitruvius (IX.vi) and in Jones's copy of the Barbaro Vitruvius, against Barbaro, I.i.1, p. 21, he noted 'what youse Astrologi guditary may have in architecture'. The third book of Jones's 1575 edition of Piccolomini's *Della institutione morale*, Venice, discussed astrology, Chapter 18, p. 166. Astrology was not, however, necessarily Neoplatonic, see Clulee, *N. John Dee's Natural Philosophy*, London, 1988, pp. 71–2.
 - 12 Prynne, op. cit., p. 119 (Foxe, J., *Acts and Monuments*, London, 1610 edn, pp. 210, 414).
 - 13 Prynne, op. cit., p. 126.
 - 14 Perkins, W., 'A Golden Chaine', 1591, in *Workes*, Cambridge, 1616–18, vol. I, p. 40.
 - 15 In generally employing outwardly Catholic symbolism, Laud's High Church ceremonial naturally had the flavour of ritual magic to Puritans. Sir John Eliot thought that Parliament should stand firm against Laudian innovations, 'by restricting their ceremonies, by abolishing their sorceries'; see Thomas, op. cit., p. 79. Davies, R.T., *Four Centuries of Witch Belief*, London, 1947, pp. 122–4, shows how Laudian ceremonies were mistaken for ritual magic.
 - 16 For lists of names of masons employed at various stages, see Guildhall MS 25,471, W.A.1–15. Edmund Kinsman was the principal mason employed. For the recasting of the nave, the chief masons were Thomas Style, William Mason, Thomas Steevens, and John Moore. See Colvin, H. (ed.) *History of the King's Works*, London, 1963, vol. III, pp. 150–1. See also Knoop, D. and Jones, G.P., *The Genesis of Freemasonry*, Manchester, 1947, pp. 114, 125.
 - 17 Dugdale, op. cit., p. 139.
 - 18 W.A.1.
 - 19 Bolton, E., *The Cities Advocate*, London, 1629, p. 24.
 - 20 See Lethaby, W., 'Old St Paul's—VT', *The Builder*, 5 September 1930, pp. 393–4.
 - 21 In *Love's Welcome at Bolsover*, 1634, line 56, and *Neptune's Triumph*, 1624, line 82; discussed in Chapter 6.
 - 22 Rykwert, J., *The First Moderns*, London, M.I.T. Press, 1980, p. 135; Stevenson, D., *The Origins of Freemasonry, Scotland's Century 1590–1710*, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 19–21; on masonry and Hermetic philosophy in general see pp. 85–6, 103–4.
 - 23 See Stevenson, *The Origins of Freemasonry*.
 - 24 See *ibid.*, p. 219 and, on institutionalised masonic initiation from 1620, p. 217; Knoop, and Jones, op. cit., pp. 15, 132, 149–50, and on the London Masons' Company pp. 44–5, 146–7.
 - 25 See Rykwert, J., *On Adam's House in Paradise*, New York, 1972, pp. 122–8.
 - 26 See Taylor, R., 'Architecture and Magic', in Hibbard, H. (ed.) *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, London, 1967. See also Wilkinson-Zerner, C., *Juan de Herrera: Architect to Philip II of Spain*, London and New Haven, 1993.
 - 27 Cesariano's edition of Vitruvius, Como, 1521, illustrated how the aspects of the 'horoscope', triangle, square, and star, are determined musically by the values of the angles between the zodiacal houses.
 - 28 See Rykwert, op. cit., pp. 134–5; see also Taylor, R., 'Hermetic and Mystical Architecture in the Society of Jesus', in Wittkower, R. (ed.) *Baroque Art*, New York, 1972, p. 84.
 - 29 Taylor, 'Architecture and Magic', p. 97.
 - 30 Reported by Strong, R., *Britannia Triumphans*, London, 1980, p. 61.
 - 31 Williams, J., *Great Britains SALOMON*, London, 1625, pp. 25, 29.

- 32 Ibid., pp. 39, 46.
- 33 Herbert, T., *Memoirs Of The Two Last Years Of The Reign Of That Unparallell'd Prince, King Charles I*, London, 1702, p. 43. Charles also studied Sir John Harrington's translation of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* which had been prepared for Prince Henry.
- 34 Villalpando probably influenced Borromini (1599–1667) in the University Church of Sant'Ivo della Sapienza, Rome—the plan of which is possibly derived from interlocked triangles, or Solomon's seal; see De la Ruffiniere du Prey, P., 'Solomonic Symbolism in Borromini's Church of S.Ivo dalla Sapienza', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 31, 1968, pp. 216–32, and Rosenau, H., *Vision of the Temple*, London, 1979, pp. 96–7.
- 35 For a discussion of this drawing, see Bold, J., *John Webb*, Oxford, 1989, p. 38.
- 36 Title in Webb's handwriting, attributed by Margery Corbett in Harris, J. and Tait, A.A. (eds) *Catalogue of the Drawings by Inigo Jones... at Worcester College*, Oxford, 1979, p. 42.
- 37 The twelve volumes of the *Annales Ecclesiastici* of Caesar Baronius appeared between 1588 and 1607, and, according to Frances Yates, 'implied the whole elaborate interpretation of the Hermetic writings as Gentile prophecy of the coming of Christ' (*Giordano Bruno*, London, 1964, p. 399).
- 38 See Harris, J. and Higgott, G., *Inigo Jones, Complete Architectural Drawings*, New York, 1989, p. 254. For a discussion of the Jones-Webb Whitehall in relation to the Escorial and Villalpando, see Bold, op. cit., pp. 108–12.
- 39 See Harris, J., Orgel, S., and Strong, R., *The King's Arcadia*, London, 1973, p. 146. The palace was frequently visited by early seventeenth-century travellers, and described in subsequent 'guidebooks' such as James Wadsworth's *Further Observations of the English Spanish Pilgrime*, London, 1630.
- 40 See Whitelocke, B., *MEMORIALS OF THE ENGLISH Affairs*, London, 1709, p. 307.
- 41 See Parry, G., *Golden Age Restor'd*, Manchester, 1981, p. 267.
- 42 Bacon, F., 'Of Building', 1625, in Spedding, J., Ellis, R.L., and Heath, D.D. (eds) *Literary and Professional Works*, London, vol. VI, p. 482.
- 43 Pointed out in Donaldson, I. (ed.) *Ben Jonson*, Oxford, 1985, p. 724 n.35.
- 44 See Hersey, G.L., *Pythagorean Palaces*, Ithaca, NY, 1976, p. 109.
- 45 Wotton, op. cit., p. 51. For Vasari, see Wittkower, R., *Gothic versus Classic*, London, 1974, p. 19.
- 46 Something of this section is hinted at in the work's accounts, Guildhall MS 21,471 W.A.15, September 1641: 'two great Arches that abutteth against the westend on each side of the middle isle, the same Arch being taken downe'.
- 47 Webb, J., *VINDICATION*, London, 1725 edn, p. 27.
- 48 There is no clear view, to scale or otherwise, of the medieval west front. Hence there is nothing to record what the west end towers to either side of the cathedral looked like and therefore whether they were identical. In August 1640 stone was transported for work on the towers at the west end (W.A.13) and in November (W.A.14) payment was made for 'taking downe the upper part of the Two Towers'.
- 49 Waller, E., 'Upon His Majesty's Repairing of St Paul's', in Bell, I. (ed.) *The Poetical Works of Edmund Waller*, Edinburgh, 1784, p. 67.
- 50 In Serlio's drawing of a Tuscan gate, Book IV, Chapter 5, fol.8v, to the side of a curved, freehand 'X'. Indeed Serlio's voussoirs radiate from Jones's point.
- 51 Jones's technique of tracing or pinpricking an underlying outlined design has been detected by Roy Strong in masque sets; see Strong, R., and Orgel, S., *Inigo Jones: the Theatre of the Stuart Court*, London, 1973, pp. 36, 97–8.

- Whilst commenting on Jones's geometric theatre designs John Orrell has detected pencil under-drawings hidden by inked lines over; see Orrell, J., *The Theatres of Inigo Jones and John Webb*, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 76, 125.
- 52 It should be pointed out that Jones's drawing lacks the accuracy of a 'ruled' drawing; the lines are in freehand, and in places rough. The sides are not quite identical, nor are certain ornaments. However, the 'match' between the (free-hand) elevation and (exacting) geometric overlay is in no place less exact than Jones's drawing itself.
- 53 Measured on the scale on the drawing; the attic is equal in height to the columns of the main order (24 ft) and two-thirds the height of the whole lower order (36 ft). See Harris and Higgott, op. cit., New Exchange cat. no. 3, p. 38, Temple Bar cat. no. 82, pp. 251–3; Higgott, G., "'Varying with reason": Inigo Jones's theory of design', *Architectural History*, vol. 35, 1992, pp. 66–7.
- 54 In Lorini, B., *Le fortificationi*, 1609 edn, p. 18, Jones notes in the margin
- how to trauce part on[e] designe to another and inscribe y^e angoll of any figure in a circle given, first opou your instrument to y^e number of the bacio of the angle required to be inscribed. . . take the same diameter of the circoll given and setting on[e] poynt of y^e compas in y^e poynt.
- 55 R. Wittkower in *Palladio and English Palladianism*, London, 1974, has analysed this drawing in part (originally published as 'Inigo Jones, Architect and Man of Letters', *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, January 1953, p. 85). He observes that 'all the orders used in the design are interrelated'; this he determines was governed by a column module. However, this modular analysis remains suspect, for Jones's columns vary slightly in size, and although Wittkower states that 'vertical lines fixed the position of the main orders', he fails to give horizontal modular divisions to relate these (only the width of the tower is specified as five modules). Further, no overall vertical relationship is proposed. Hence, nothing Wittkower has said contradicts the overall idea of a circle and triangle used to order the front, for the modular system could easily be adopted within this. For further criticisms of Wittkower, see Harris and Higgott, op. cit., p. 242.
- 56 See Frankl, P., 'The Secret of the Mediaeval Masons', *Art Bulletin*, vol. 27, 1945, p. 60; Wittkower, R., *Gothic versus Classic*, London, 1974, p. 25.
- 57 See, for example, Ghyka, M., *The Geometry of Art and Life*, New York, 1977.
- 58 See Tait, A.A., 'Inigo Jones's "Stone-Heng"', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 120, 1978, p. 158 n.32.
- 59 Gent, L., *Picture and Poetry 1560–1620*, Leamington Spa, 1981, p. 85.
- 60 Cesariano's Vitruvius influenced the Escorial, see Taylor, 'Architecture and Magic', fig. 20.
- 61 See Summerson, J., *Inigo Jones*, Harmondsworth, 1966, p. 108.
- 62 Reproduced in 'Inigo Jones and St Paul's Cathedral', *London Topographical Society*, vol. 18, 1942, p. 42; see Orrell, op. cit., p. 15.
- 63 See the Appendix.
- 64 Camden died in 1623, that is forty years prior to Charleton's publication.
- 65 Webb, op. cit., p. 57.
- 66 Peacham, H., *The Compleat Gentleman*, London, 1622; Dee's 'principles of Geometrie' cited on p. 71, geometric plans on p. 107.
- 67 On the relationship between Jones and his masons, see Knoop and Jones, op. cit., p. 126.
- 68 See Summerson, J., 'Three Elizabethan Architects', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. 40, 1957, pp. 202–28.
- 69 Whitney, G., *A Choice of Emblems*, Leyden, 1586, 'To the Reader' (p. 2 of 3).

- 70 *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)*, 1617, 70; quoted by Girouard, M., *Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House*, London, 1983, p. 28.
- 71 See Rykwert, J., 'On The Oral Transmission of Architectural Theory', *AA Files*, No. 6, May, 1984, pp. 14–27.
- 72 See Orrell, J., *The Human Stage*, Cambridge, 1988, Chapter 9.
- 73 Orrell, J., *The Quest for Shakespeare's Globe*, Cambridge, 1983, p. 117.
- 74 See Krautheimer, R., *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art*, New York, 1969; see also Lesser, G., *Gothic Cathedrals and Sacred Geometry*, London, 1957, p. 202.
- 75 Rykwert notes that until Jones's work the 'new learning' which the Orders represented 'was externally applied, out of books, by virtuosi or "architects"' (*The First Moderns*, London and Cambridge, Mass., 1980, p. 137).
- 76 See Milman, H.H., *Annals*, London, 1868, p. 341.
- 77 See Onians, J., 'Brunelleschi, Humanist or Nationalist?', *Art History*, 5, no. 3, 1982, pp. 259–72; Nyberg, D.F., 'Brunelleschi's Use of Proportion in the Pazzi Chapel', *Marsyas*, vol. 7, 1954, pp. 1–7. In the *De re aedificatoria* Alberti uses *ad quadratum* to define the height of a door (Book I, Chapter 3).
- 78 For example, under 'Statike' (Dee, J., 'Preface', *EUCLID*, London, 1570, ciiij): 'Now, all those thinges, which *Vitruvius* in his Architecture, specified hable to be done, by dubbling of the Cube Or by finding of two middle proportionall lines, betwene two lines given, may easely be performed.'
- 79 Ibid., diij–diijj.
- 80 Webb, op. cit., p. 11.
- 81 Euclid, *De gli elementi d'Euclide libri quindici*, trans. F. Commandino, Urbino, 1575 (unannotated); Scala, G., *Geometria prattica... sopra le tauole dell'Ecce Mathematico Giovanni Pomodoro*, Rome, 1603 (unannotated, this contains survey methods for land and architecture); Viola Zanini, G., *Della architettura*, Padua, 1629 (annotated, pp. 7–28 illustrate geometric constructions including the triangle within a circle, p. 15).
- 82 Jones's copy of Palladio, Book I, Chapter 23, p. 53 'of the height of rooms', line 18, against diagram, 'how to find this heyg[ht] geometrically/Euclid the 6 Book propo: 13'. In his 1601 Serlio, Jones copies Serlio's vase constructed within Euclidean principles (fol. 20v).
- 83 See Wittkower, R., *Architectural Principles*, London, 1988 edn, p. 120.
- 84 Vignola, G., *Regola delle cinque ordini d'architettura*, Rome, 1607; on p. 30 Jones notes how to construct mouldings. Viola Zanini, G., *Della architettura*, Padua, 1629, pp. 399–400—on how to construct a Corinthian detail, p. 400, Jones notes 'To make y^e corners and breadth of the Abbacus first mak a squar of a diamiter and 1/2 of y^e collom. the[n] draw y^e diagonall line, sett on[el] point of the compas in y^e midel and sett out on diamiter towrds the corners and from that draw a line that art in y^e angoll C that is y^e breadth C.'
- 85 This interest was in part stimulated by the Civil War, when Jones was expected to know something about fortification. The following are to be found in Jones's library: Pietro, C., *L'architettura* (unannotated; fortification design forms the subject of Book One; Book Seven concentrates on geometric figures of triangles, circles, and hexagons); Lorini, B., *Le fortificationi*, Venice, 1609 (annotated); Busca, G., *L'architettura militare*, Milan, 1619 (annotated). In the margin of Lorini Jones proposes a geometric method of construction for almost every bastion illustrated. These provide an insight into the 'technical' side of his mind at work, and, in that most of the fortifications are inscribed within geometry (frequently circular), they resemble Jones's geometric scheme for Stonehenge; in 'Busca', p. 128, for example, Jones notes: 'The

- new sides ar[e] inscribed in a circoll.' Jones's preoccupation with such 'all consuming' geometry echoes in Jonson's satire of the architect in *Neptune's Triumph*, 1624, for disguised as a Vitruvian Cook he 'fortifies': 'Makes *Citadels* of curious foule and fish,/Some he dry-ditches, some motes round with broths;/Mounts marrow-bones; cuts fifty-angled custards;/Reares bulwarke pies; and for his outer workes,/He raiseth ramparts of immortal crust.../The whole *Art Militarie*!' (lines 68–78).
- 86 Book III, Chapter 1 against Vitruvius line 40 p. 109, against Vitruvius line 38 p. 111.
- 87 See Wittkower, *Architectural Principles*, pp. 21–4.
- 88 See Gent, L. and Llewellyn, N. (eds) *Renaissance Bodies. The Human Figure in English Culture c. 1540–1660*, London, 1990, especially Peacock, J., 'Inigo Jones as a Figurative Artist', pp. 154–79, and Sawday, J., 'The Fate of Marsyas: Dissecting the Renaissance Body', pp. 111–35.
- 89 Barbaro, Vitruvius, Book II, Chapter 8, against Barbaro, p. 83, lines 38, 40, p. 84 line 1. In his 1615 edition of Scamozzi's *L'idea della architettura universale*, Jones notes in the first part, Book III, Chapter 20, p. 312: 'Stairs compard to y^e vaines in y^e boddy.'
- 90 Wotton, op. cit., pp. 29, 117.
- 91 King, op. cit., pp. 55, 40.
- 92 Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise*, p. 120. For a history of the church as a human body, see Kantorowicz, E., *The King's Two Bodies*, Princeton, 1957, p. 199.
- 93 King, op. cit., p. 19.
- 94 Ibid., pp. 34, 37.
- 95 On the occasion of the 'restoration' procession in 1620, for example; see Chapter 7.
- 96 Plato, *Timaeus*, Harmondsworth 1965 edn, [53–5], pp. 72–6.
- 97 See, for example, Strong, R., *Art and Power*, Woodbridge, 1984, pl.44–49 and pp. 57–61: the 'Balet Comique de la Reyne', performed at the French Court in 1581, had as its climax a grand ballet of forty symbolic geometric figures; see also Yates, F., *The French Academies*, London, 1947, pp. 248–9, n.3, and Meagher, J.C., 'The Dance and the Masques of Ben Jonson', *J.W.C.I.*, vol. 25, 1962, pp. 258–77.
- 98 See Strong, *Art and Power*, pp. 61, 121; for the intermezzi as a celebration of the elements, p. 136.
- 99 Introductory letter, see Spenser, T.J. and Wells, S. (eds) *A Book of Masques*, Cambridge, 1967, p. 30, lines 173–5.
- 100 Marcelline, G., *Triumphs*, London, 1610, pp. 14, 37.
- 101 Thornborough, J., *The Joeful and Blessed Reuniting of the two mighty and famous kingdoms, England and Scotland into their ancient name of great Brittain*, Oxford, 1604, pp. 25–6.
- 102 Laud, W., *Seven Sermons Preached upon Severall Occasions*, London, 1651, p. 45.
- 103 Carew, T., 'To The Queen', *The Poems of Thomas Carew* (ed. R.Dunlop), Oxford, 1949, p. 91.
- 104 See Parry, op. cit., p. 220:

Henrietta Maria was the daughter of the martial Henri IV, Charles the son of James the Peacemaker. From the resolution of these opposing qualities in marriage (a reflection of the Carlo-Maria theme common in the masques) springs the higher power of triumphant peace that guides the destiny of the nation.

- 105 In *Love's Welcome at Bolsover*, 1634, Jonson plays with the imagery of circles as a metaphor for the endless movement of love between the royal couple, between the Crown and the people, and between heaven and earth, 'The king, and Queenes Court, which is circular,/And perfect. The pure schoole that we live in,/And is of pure Love, the Discipline' (lines 136–8). On the poems of Joshua Sylvester, see Parry, op. cit., p. 25 notes:
- As the world lies spell-bound by James's glory, Sylvester busies himself with erecting a colonnade of twelve emblem poems, each in the shape of a pillar, in honour of the immortal qualities of the King. By means of the repetition...the sequence is given a circular shape, and thus these poetic pillars form a temple consecrated to James.
- 106 Jones, I, *STONE-HENG Restored*, London, 1655, pp. 105–6.
- 107 For a discussion of the authorship of *STONE-HENG Restored*, see the Appendix.
- 108 Birrell, T.A., *English Monarchs and their Books*, London, 1986, p. 33. Much of Dee's own library found its way into the collection of Henry Cotton.
- 109 For the 'magic' and expressly Platonic content of Dee's 'Preface' see Clulee, op. cit., pp. 147, 166–76.
- 110 See Yates, F., *Theatre of the World*, London, 1969, pp. 109, 146.
- 111 According to George Vertue, who had it from Wren, Jones's apprenticeship had been to a joiner, within St Paul's churchyard; see Vertue, G., 'Vertue Note Books I', *Walpole Society*, vol. 18, 1930, p. 105.
- 112 Jones, op. cit., p. 34.
- 113 See the Appendix.
- 114 The fact that we can accurately date at least the passage on 'Menadry' to after 1649 has gone unnoted, as has the association of Stonehenge with an actual piece of architecture by Jones, placed against a reference to an aspect of Dee's 'Neoplatonic' philosophy.
- 115 Tait, op. cit., p. 155, notes that the Jones-Webb study of Stonehenge was 'interesting for what it revealed of both architects' attitudes to classical composition'. Strong, *Britannia Triumphans*, p. 59, notes that Jones's 'study of Stonehenge is the only document we have which shows how his mind worked in relation to the concept or *idea* of a building'.
- 116 Jones, op. cit., p. 33.
- 117 Ibid., p. 68.
- 118 See Donaldson, op. cit., p. 722. In Jonson's *An Expostulation wth Inigo Jones*, 1631, the architect had 'Drawn Aristotle on us: and thence shown/How much architectonike is your own!' (Donaldson, op. cit., p. 462, lines 9–10). In Jones's 1551 copy of *L'ethica d'Aristotile* (Book VI, Chapter 7), p. 188, we find this term in the text underlined, and in the margin Jones's note 'Architectonicall or Universall'. See the Appendix.
- 119 See the Appendix.
- 120 Evelyn, J., diary entry for 27 August 1666, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (ed. J. Bowle), Oxford, 1983, p. 209. Orgel, S., 'Inigo Jones on Stonehenge', *Prose*, vol. 3, 1971, p. 118, notes that as well as 'Palladian' architecture Jones 'was equally interested in the native medieval tradition, which exemplified a world of high romantic chivalry. There are few places in Jones's architecture itself where this double vision can be observed, but the facade of old Saint Paul's might be a case in point.'
- 121 Jones, op. cit., p. 68.
- 122 Ibid., p. 105.
- 123 Ibid., p. 65.
- 124 See the Appendix.
- 125 Jones, op. cit., p. 102; Jones's margin notes 'Pier Valerianus Hier.lib.39'.
- 126 Ibid.
- 127 Wotton, op. cit., p. 17.

- 128 Jones's 1614 Italian translation of Plutarch's *Opusculi Morali di Plutarco Cheronese*, p. 492.
- 129 See the Appendix.
- 130 Stukeley, W., *Stonehenge a Temple Restored to the British Druids*, London, 1740, pp. 6–7.
- 131 Jones's notes in his 1565 edition of Strabo's *La seconda parte della Geografia di Strabone*, Lib.xvii, p. 289: 'discription of y^e dessigne of the Egiptian tempels'. The annotations to his 1539 Italian translation of Herodotus' *Herodoto Alicarnaseo Historico delle guerre de Greci & de Persi* show his study of Egyptian antiquity.
- 132 See Loach, J., 'The Restoration of the Temple of Lyon in the Seventeenth Century' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University), 1988.

6 MUSICAL HARMONY AND PYTHAGOREAN PALACES

- 1 For Dee's Pythagorean numerology, see Clulee, N., *John Dee's Natural Philosophy*, London, 1988, pp. 89–92.
- 2 Dee, J., 'Preface', *EUCLID*, London, 1570, j. For contemporary English study of Pico, see *The lyfe of Joban Picus Erle of Myrandula*, by G.F.Pico della Mirandola (trans. T.More), London, c. 1525; see also Parks, G., 'Pico della Mirandola in Tudor Translation', in Mahoney, E. (ed.) *Philosophy and Humanism*, New York, 1976, pp. 352–69.
- 3 Dee, op. cit., aiiij.
- 4 Extracts from these supposed 'angelic conversations' were published by Meric Casaubon in *A TRUE & FAITHFUL RELATION OF WHAT passed for many Years Between D^r JOHN DEE (A Mathematician of Great Fame in Q.Eliz. and King JAMES their Reignes) and SOME SPIRITS*, London, 1659; Casaubon here claims Dee also advised James I in 1607, 'Preface' 'D' (unnumbered).
- 5 See Jonson, B., *Works* (ed. C.Herford and P.Simpson), Oxford, 1925–52, vol. VII, p. 214.
- 6 On this masque, see Gordon, D.J., *The Renaissance Imagination*, Berkeley, Calif., 1975, p. 168; Strong, R., *Art and Power*, Woodbridge, 1984, pp. 29–30.
- 7 See Willis, T., *The Search of Causes*, London, 1616, pp. 14, 20, 33–4.
- 8 Dee, op. cit., bij.
- 9 Ficino, M., *Opera Omnia*, Basel, 1576, vol. I, pp. 525–6, 561–6; see Walker, D.P., *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella*, London, 1958, pp. 6–24.
- 10 See Brooks-Davies, D., *The Mercurian Monarch*, Manchester, 1983, p. 118 n. 50.
- 11 See Palme, P., *The Triumph of Peace*, London, 1957, pp. 67–81.
- 12 Dee, op. cit., biii.
- 13 Thornborough, J., *A Discourse*, London, 1641, pp. 221–2.
- 14 Ibid., pp. 222, 234.
- 15 For this see Palme, op. cit., p. 70; Toplis, G., 'Inigo Jones, A Study of Neoplatonic Aspects of his Thought and Works' (unpublished M.A. thesis, Liverpool University), 1967, p. 249.
- 16 King, J., *A Sermon at Paules Crosse, on behalfe of Paules Church*, London, 1620, p. 53.
- 17 Waller, E., 'Upon His Majesty's Repairing of St Paul's', *Poetical Works* (ed. I. Bell), Edinburgh, 1784, p. 67, lines 11–14.
- 18 See Gordon, D.J., 'Poet and Architect, the Intellectual Setting of the Quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones', *J.W.C.I.* vol. 12, 1949, p. 175. In Plutarch's *Della musica*, pp. 221–37, Jones annotates every page from p. 228 onwards; for example on p. 228 'plato in y^e creation of the Soule. Timeo'. In the 'Timeo di Platone', pp. 315–38, Jones annotates pp. 317–18, 320–2, 327, 333–4; for example on p. 320 'the other soul evoc[ed]

- by god in number and proportion'. In his copy of Plutarch's *Alcuni opusculi de le cose morali del divino Plutarco*, Venice, 1567, part two, p. 42, against the text on music Jones notes 'pithagoris saw this dubbel dispositio of y^e mind' and on p. 46 against text on Plato 'Rasionall & irrationall liknd by Plato'.
- 19 Plato, *La Repubblica di Platone* (trans. P.Fiorimbenne), Venice, 1554, p. 124. Jones annotates book three in particular.
 - 20 Barbaro, Vitruvius, against Barbaro Book I, Chapter 1, lines 23, 27, 29, p. 24.
 - 21 Ibid., against Vitruvius Book V, Chapter 1, line 18 p. 205.
 - 22 Plato, *Timaeus*, Harmondsworth, 1965 edn [56], p. 78; see Hersey, G., *Pythagorean Palaces*, Ithaca, NY, 1976, pp. 35–7. Dee's 'Preface', op. cit., discusses at some length the properties of the cube under 'Statike' (biiij—ciiij).
 - 23 Unidentified design, possibly representing 'Geometry', see Strong, R., and Orgel, S., *Inigo Jones: the Theatre of the Stuart Court*, London, 1973, p. 156, Figure 34 (this figure also carries an equilateral triangle in her hand). In the frontispiece of Robert Recorde's *The Castle of Knowledge*, London, 1556, the figure of Knowledge, with compasses in hand, stands on a secure cube and controls 'The Sphere of Destinye'.
 - 24 See Hersey, op. cit., pp. 51–9.
 - 25 See Summerson, J., *Inigo Jones*, Harmondsworth, 1966, pp. 47, 60–1.
 - 26 Jones, I., *STONE-HENG Restored*, London, 1655, p. 101; Jones's margin notes Cassius Dio Cocceianus' reference to the Pantheon (*Roman History*, trans. E. Cary, Loeb edn, London, 1968, p. 263).
 - 27 For this term see Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books* (trans. J. Rykwert, N. Leach, and R. Tavernor), London and Cambridge, Mass., 1988, Book I, Chapter 2 (p. 8); here a building is divided up into close-fitting smaller buildings 'joined together like members of the whole body'; see also 'glossary', p. 421. This concept was evidently well known in Jones's day, since Wotton refers to this as an 'art' in the *Elements*, London, 1624, p. 66.
 - 28 Book III, Chapter 1, against Vitruvius, line 33, p. 111.
 - 29 Chatsworth collection, vol. VI, 100. Roman Sketchbook, dated 19 January 1614, fols. 76v and 77r.
 - 30 Book III fols. 50r and 50v.
 - 31 The basement was refaced in 1773 under the direction of Sir William Chambers, and in 1829 the upper façade was also refaced in Portland stone by Sir John Soane; see Palme, op. cit., pp. 91, 296 n.2; Hart, V., 'Conservation and Computers: A Reconstruction of Inigo Jones's Original Whitehall Banqueting House, London c.1620', *Computers and the History of Art*, London, Courtauld Institute, 1993.
 - 32 Colen Campbell's plates, in the first volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, London, 1715, show that the height and proportion of the columns are clearly different, the floor level of the hall being higher than that of the external column base (making the external columns taller); the upper columns inside are on pedestals to overcome the visual obstruction of the gallery.
 - 33 Chatsworth collection; see Harris, J. and Higgott, G., *Inigo Jones, Complete Architectural Drawings*, New York, 1989, p. 114. Indeed, in the completed building the column centres are identical inside and out, with the centre of the corner columns inside reflected by that of the inner of the paired end columns outside.
 - 34 The many marginal notes in Jones's Scamozzi and Palladio testify to his study of the use of proportion to order buildings. For brief references to Jones's use of proportion in general see Harris and Higgott, op. cit.; Toplis, op. cit.; Harris, J., Orgel, S., and Strong, R., *The King's Arcadia*, London, 1973, pp. 61–3; Wittkower, R., 'Inigo Jones, Architect and Man of Letters', in *Palladio and English Palladianism*, London, 1974, pp. 51–64; Tavernor, R., *Palladio and Palladianism*, London, 1991, p. 134; Palme points to a

- number of ratios in the preliminary drawings for the Banqueting House façade (op. cit., pp. 288–310); for a more detailed study citing Vitruvius' concept of 'Decorum' (and ignoring Platonic-Pythagorean number) as Jones's inspiration for proportion, see Higgott, G., "Varying with reason": Inigo Jones's theory of design', *Architectural History*, vol. 35, 1992, pp. 51–77.
- 35 See Fowler, A., *Spenser and the Numbers of Time*, London, 1964, pp. 260–88; Yates, F., *The Occult Philosophy*, London, 1979, pp. 97–8.
- 36 Book III, Chapter 1, p. 112 against Barbaro, line 6, Vitruvius, line 12. This section is heavily annotated by Jones who notes for example that 'The mathematicians say 5 to be a perfect number' (Vitruvius, line 10).
- 37 See Wittkower, R., *Architectural Principles*, London, 1988 edn.
- 38 See Hersey, op. cit.
- 39 Wotton, op. cit., p. 53; Wotton also refers to a '*Rectangular Triangle*, which the Ancient Schoole did expresse in lowest tearmes, by the numbers of 3. 4. and 5.', p. 58.
- 40 Ibid., pp. 118–19.
- 41 Alberti, op. cit., Prologue and Book I; see glossary, pp. 422–3.
- 42 Alberti, *L'architettura* (Bartoli edn), 1565, Book IX, Chapter 5.
- 43 Ibid., p. 258.
- 44 Ibid., p. 259.
- 45 Ibid., p. 260.
- 46 Ibid., p. 262.
- 47 Tavernor, op. cit., p. 134.
- 48 Both drawings in the Chatsworth collection; see Harris and Higgott, op. cit., pp. 110–13; Palme, op. cit., p. 293; and on a subsequent design, see Wittkower, 'Inigo Jones, Architect and Man of Letters', p. 58.
- 49 This was carried out using accurate photogrammetric techniques and subsequently plotted using Computer Aided Design software (CAD), see Hart, op. cit.
- 50 Campbell's plates in the first volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, London, 1715. Soane's Royal Academy gold medal drawing, Soane Museum, London (ref. 74 set 2, no. 1), probably a tape survey derived, in part, from Campbell. As this and Campbell's drawing show, apart from the change in stone, the refacing was a replica of the original, no doubt built up stone by stone following structural requirements; an original Composite capital also in the Soane Museum, for example, is the same size as that on the refaced façade.
- 51 Both Campbell and Soane (drawing without scale, 9.95 cm by 15 cm) also recorded a 6:9 ratio.
- 52 The ratio of shaft to column is thus 8:9, or 'Tonus' (the capital and base are both half of a module).
- 53 These centres obviously form the points for the construction of the half columns on the plan (see Harris and Higgott, op. cit., early plans pp. 111, 114 (cat. no. R.I.B.A. Jones & Webb 4); dotted centre lines on Webb's plan (Harris and Higgott, op. cit., p. 114)) and are clearly marked on the elevation of the penultimate design for the elevation (ibid., p. 113).
- 54 These are the most likely elements to have been altered by refacing; however both Campbell and Soane (5.6 cm by 8.4 cm) show a 2:3 ratio. Jones's second design drawing also had windows 3.5 by 5.25 modules.
- 55 Soane again has this. In Jones's second design drawing the space between column centres is again six modules (however, this is in pen and brown ink and the columns vary slightly in size), whilst both the Orders are different in height, the lower much taller than the upper and, with a 9.5 module height, taller than the lower Order in the completed building. Together with the omission of the pediment evident in earlier designs, the change to a 1:1 ratio for the two levels

of the Orders would appear a key step towards expressing the double cube.

- 56 See Palme, op. cit., p. 296; Tavernor, op. cit., p. 134.
- 57 See Tavernor, op. cit., p. 37.
- 58 Ibid., p. 134.
- 59 Alberti, op. cit., Book IX, Chapter 6, pp. 308–9.
- 60 Dee, op. cit., j.
- 61 Ibid., ij.
- 62 Marcelline, G., *Triumphs*, London, 1610, p. 58.
- 63 Ibid., p. 86.
- 64 Dee, op. cit., aj.
- 65 For a slightly different view, see Gordon, 'Poet and Architect'.
- 66 See Yates, F., *Theatre of the World*, London, 1969, Chapter 5, pp. 80–91.
- 67 Interpreted by Corbett, M. and Lightbown, R., *The Comely Frontispiece*, London, 1979, pp. 145–50.
- 68 Noted in *Tempe Restored*, 1632, lines 49–50.
- 69 See Perez-Gomez, A., *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science*, Cambridge, Mass., 1985.
- 70 Ficino, M., *In Convivium Commentarium*, in *Divini Platonis Omnia*, Lyon, 1567; discussed by Strong and Orgel, op. cit., pp. 53, 55.
- 71 See Brooks-Davies, op. cit., pp. 94, 157.
- 72 Discussed by John Fowles in *The Magus*, London, 1977, p. 477: 'The magician ... conjuror. Two of his traditional symbols are the lily and the rose'; see also traditional Tarot card illustrations.
- 73 Plotinus, for example, in *Ennead II*, Book IX, Chapter 16, asks 'What skilful geometrician or arithmetician will fail to enjoy symmetry, order and proportion, in the objects that meet his view?' Discussed by Cassirer, E., *The Platonic Renaissance in England* (trans. J. Pettegrove), London, 1953, p. 100.

7 PROCESSIONS AND STUART LONDON AS THE NEOPLATONIC 'CITY OF THE SUN'

- 1 Strong, R., *Art and Power*, Woodbridge, 1984, p. 26.
- 2 Daly, P.M., *Literature in the Light of the Emblem*, Toronto, 1979, p. 139.
- 3 See Yates, F., *Astraea*, London, 1975, pp. 10, 37, 76.
- 4 Heywood, T., *The Life of MERLIN*, London, 1641, p. 360.
- 5 See Yates, op. cit., pp. 62–4. For this and the 'astral' interpretation of the books of the *Faerie Queene*, see Fowler, A.D., *Spenser and the Numbers of Time*, London, 1964; Yates, F., *The Occult Philosophy*, London, 1979, pp. 97–8; Brooks-Davies, D., *The Mercurian Monarch*, Manchester, 1983, pp. 29–33, on Redcrosse and Arthur as solar knights p. 25.
- 6 Heywood, op. cit., pp. 374–5.
- 7 See Gordon, D.J., 'Hymenaei: Ben Jonson's Masque of Union', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes (JWCI)*, vol. 8, 1945, pp. 107–45.
- 8 See Brooks-Davies, op. cit., p. 23.
- 9 See the Introduction; on the identification of Elizabeth with the moon in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, see Brooks-Davies, D., op. cit., pp. 23, 57.
- 10 This is illustrated in a woodcut, reproduced in Nichols, J., *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, London, 1823, vol. III, p. 101; see Strong, R., *The Renaissance Garden in England*, London, 1979, p. 125, and Figure 75.

- 11 See Whinney, M., *Sculpture in Britain 1530 to 1830*, Harmondsworth, 1988 edn, p. 88, and Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, p. 189.
- 12 See Westman, R., 'Magical Reform and Astronomical Reform: The Yates Thesis Reconsidered', in Westman, R. and MacGuire, J., *Hermeticism and the Scientific Revolution*, Los Angeles, Calif., 1977, especially p. 18.
- 13 See Debus, A.G., *The English Paracelsians*, London, 1965, p. 113.
- 14 Agrippa, H.C., *De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres*, Book III, Chapter 43 (ed. V. Perrone Compagni), Leiden, 1992, p. 540.
- 15 See Strong, R., and Orgel, S., *Inigo Jones: the Theatre of the Stuart Court*, London, 1973, p. 72.
- 16 Marcelline, G., *The Triumphs of King James the First*, London, 1610, p. 67.
- 17 Marcelline, G., *Epithalamium, Gallo-Britannicum*, London, 1625, p. 43.
- 18 Thornborough, J., *A Discourse*, London, 1641, p. 28.
- 19 For a study of this Renaissance art-form, see Strong, *Art and Power*, especially p. 62.
- 20 Ibid., pp. 6–11.
- 21 See Malcolm, J.P., *Londinium Redivivum*, London, 1803, vol. III, pp. 152–58. Young, A., *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, London, 1987, p. 24 notes:

Henry used public display to impress the authority of his presence upon his subjects. He began this process with his carefully-timed triumphant entry into London twelve days after his victory at Bosworth, the event climaxing with the presentation of his three banners at St Paul's, one of which was the fiery red dragon so important in the new national mythology.

- 22 See Malcolm, op. cit., p. 166.
- 23 This was delayed by the Plague from James's coronation in 1603. For an analysis of this entry, see Parry, G., *Golden Age Restor'd*, Manchester, 1981, pp. 1–39; Strong, *Art and Power*, p. 72; Mebane, J.S., *Renaissance Magic and the Return of the Golden Age*, Lincoln, Nebr., 1989, p. 161.
- 24 The designs for eight arches were published by Stephen Harrison (a joiner) in *Arches of Triumph*, London, 1604 (in Pepys col., Magdalene College, Cambridge, *London and Westminster*, vol. 2, pl.2973/329–33b). Jonson's text for the celebrations at each arch is in Jonson, B., *Works* (ed. C. Herford and P. Simpson), Oxford, 1925–52, vol. VII, pp. 80–109.
- 25 Dekker, T., 'The Song of Troynovant', in Fairholt, F.W., *The Civic Garland, A Collection of Songs from London Pageants*, London, 1845, p. 12.
- 26 For example those painted by Benedetto Bonfigli in Perugia; see Burke, P., *The Italian Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1986, p. 125.
- 27 Rudolf II, for example, appeared as the sun in 1571, see Kriegeskorte, W., *Arcimboldo*, Berlin, 1987, p. 90; Strong, *Art and Power*, p. 71.
- 28 *The Subjects Happinesse, and the Citizens Joy, For the Kings Majesties happy and safe return from Scotland... Thursday November 25, 1641* (4 pages, Cambridge University Library Pet.K.5.10³).
- 29 Bolton, E., *The Cities Advocate*, London, 1629, p. 56.
- 30 Nichols, J., *The Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First*, London, 1828, vol. IV, pp. 619–27.
- 31 See Dugdale, W., *The History of St Paul's Cathedral*, London, 1658, p. 135.
- 32 Pointed out by Nichols, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 728 n.1.
- 33 Identified in Strong and Orgel, op. cit., p. 453.
- 34 Stow, J., *Chronicle*, London, 1631 edn, p. 1033.
- 35 Quoted in Nichols, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 598.
- 36 Drawing reproduced in Yates, *Astraea*, Figures 24–39, see p. 179.

- 37 Public Record Office SP29/5, no. 74(1), cited by Orrell, J., *The Theatres of Inigo Jones and John Webb*, Cambridge, 1985, p. 15.
- 38 See Strong and Orgel, op. cit., text to Figure 123, p. 354.
- 39 See Godwin, J., *Athanasius Kircher*, London, 1979, Robert Fludd, London, 1979. On light as a symbol in Fludd's work, see Westman, R., 'Magical Reform and Astronomical Reform: The Yates Thesis Reconsidered', in Westman and MacGuire, op. cit., pp. 60–1.
- 40 See Bodleian Aubrey MS 2 fol. 59, 'Plan of Sir John Danvers' Garden at Chelsea', description fol.53r–56v.
- 41 A Royalist pamphlet by Berkenhead, J., *Two Centuries of Paul's Church-yard*, London, 1653, even joked that Parliament would pass an Act ordering the removal of solar emblems and other 'Monarchicall Signs' from throughout the city (no. 32, p. 7).
- 42 Colen Campbell's engraving of this in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, London, 1717, vol. II, shows the square completed on the fourth, Strand side; certainly the Earl of Bedford also owned this land, the Bedford House Gardens forming this south side.
- 43 Two plans in the Earl of Bedford Papers, Y3, box 3 2/4, at Alnwick Castle.
- 44 See Strong, *Art and Power*, p. 87.
- 45 James I, *Proclamations for Building*, London, 16 July 1615, and a further proclamation in 1619.
- 46 For discussion of Jones's designs, see Harris, J., and Higgott, G., *Inigo Jones, Complete Architectural Drawings*, New York, 1989, Somerset House (1638) pp. 193, 254, New Exchange (1608) pp. 36–7.
- 47 Book III, Chapter 1, fol. 101–34, noting against Serlio's arch of Constantine in his 1560 edition 'this cornis marked] G is 1/7 part of] the base' (fol.115r); in his 1601 edition fol.97v–105r and in the index, against the arch of Titus Augustus (fol.100r), 'to be Imitated'. In his Palladio, Book IV, Chapter 16, p. 61, Jones notes 'Paladio thinkes this Templ not Anticke but I do beeleeve yt to bee make in Constantines time when Architecture was much falen and they yoused to build wth fragmentes of Antike buildinges as in his Arch se Serlio'.
- 48 Discussed by Strong and Orgel, op. cit., p. 71. On ship money, see Sommerville, J.P., *Politics and Ideology in England, 1603–1640*, London, 1986, pp. 136, 159–60.
- 49 Dugdale, op. cit., p. 139. On the use of this area as a ceremonial space see, for example, Stow, J., *Survey*, London, 1633 edn, p. 368.
- 50 It was on the grounds of this unilateral clearance that Jones was to be tried by the Puritans; see *Dictionary of National Biography* (DNB) entry for Jones.
- 51 King, J., *A Sermon at Paules Cross, on behalfe of Paules Church*, London, 1620, p. 58 (incorrectly numbered p. 50).
- 52 See Gunther, R.T. (ed.) *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt*, Oxford, 1928, p. 197; W.A.13.
- 53 The processional approach to old St Peter's (a kind of *Via Triumphalis*) contained a font of ablutions in the shape of a pine-cone ('pineapple' was understood to mean 'pine-cone', see *OED*, 1933 edn) and a pine-cone was to be found in the courtyard of the Triconchos of the Great Palace at Constantinople (where the emperor enacted the part of Christ in the Triumphal Entry on Palm Sunday); see Smith, E.B., *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages*, Princeton, 1956, pp. 28–9.
- 54 King, op. cit., pp. 18, 43.
- 55 For one such procession, see Simpson, W.S., *Gleanings*, London, 1889, p. 125.
- 56 The sun and moon were represented on the walls of several Suffolk churches visited by the iconoclast William Dowsing in 1643–4. For discussion on solar magic see Thomas, K., *Religion and the Decline of*

- Magic*, London, 1971, pp. 432, 456–7.
- 57 Diodorus Siculus, *The Historical Anthology*, II, book ii, 47, lines 1–5 (trans. C.H.Oldfather), London, 1946.
- 58 Dugdale, op. cit., p. 3.
- 59 Geoffrey's *History* (trans. S.Evans), London, 1963 edn, Book II, Chapter 10, p. 35.
- 60 See Levis, H.C., *The British King who tried to Fly*, London, 1919, pp. 71–2.
- 61 See Rykwert, J., *The Idea of the Town*, London and Cambridge, Mass., 1976, p. 39.
- 62 In seventeenth-century Lyon, the Jesuits were to be similarly identified as successors of the Augurs; see Loach, J., 'The Restoration of the Temple of Lyon in the Seventeenth Century' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University), 1988, p. 48.
- 63 See Ashmole, E., *Order of the Garter*, London, 1672, p. 8; see also *DNB* entry for Edmund Bolton, who proposed a 'Senate of Honour' be established around the Garter, but including Court artists such as Jones.
- 64 Hailed as such in the introductory poem, 'ODE to BEN JONSON/Upon his Ode to himself', in *Quintus Horatius Flaccus his Book of the Art of Poetry*, 1640. See Parry, op. cit., p. 20: 'the city now had its Genius, its priests, its protective spirits, even the costume of antiquity, and in his final desire to see the dawning of a new Augustan age there was doubtless the hinted belief that Jonson would be its Horace, if not its Vergil'.
- 65 Marcelline, G., *Triumphs*, London, 1610, p. 14.
- 66 See Bald, R.C., *John Donne, a Life*, Oxford, 1970, pp. 191–8. Both appear to have been members of a debating 'club'.
- 67 See Coffin, C.M., *John Donne and the New Philosophy*, New York, 1937, pp. 20, 178.
- 68 See Donne, J., *The Complete English Poems* (ed. C.A.Patrides), London, 1985, pp. 53–4.
- 69 Foxell, N., *A Sermon in Stone: John Donne and his Monument in St Paul's Cathedral*, London, 1978, p. 12.
- 70 Quoted in Coffin, op. cit., p. 178; see also Nicolson, M.H., *The Breaking of the Circle*, New York, 1960 edn, p. 47.
- 71 The Dean traditionally had responsibility for the maintenance of part of the fabric (sharing with the Chapter responsibility for the choir) whilst the Bishop of London had care of the 'whole body' of the church; see Dugdale, op. cit., p. 136.
- 72 Quoted in Maclure, M., *The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534–1642*, Toronto, 1958, p. 241.
- 73 John Andrews, discussed in *ibid.*, p. 242.
- 74 See Foxell, op. cit., p. 8.
- 75 The 'Good Shepherd' chalice plate, c. 1615, in St John's College, Oxford; the altar at St John's College, Cambridge, above which was a sun 'with great light beames'; see Tyacke, N., *Anti-Calvinists*, Oxford, 1987, chalice p. xviii, and Figure 1, altar p. 194.
- 76 See Trevor-Roper, H., *Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans*, London, 1987, title in index, p. 302.
- 77 The principles of dialling were outlined by Vitruvius (IX.vii) and in Jones's copy of the Barbaro Vitruvius against the title to this section he notes 'Li 9 of dialing or Gnomonatiure'. Dee had included 'Horometrie', or dialling, as an 'art mathematicall'. On sundials as an art employed by masons, see Stevenson, D., *The Origins of Freemasonry, Scotland's Century, 1590–1710*, Cambridge, 1988, p. 113, pl.2–3, on solar symbolism in masonic rituals pp. 159, 179. See also

- Tyacke, op. cit., p. 120, Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, pp. 35, 38, 211; Patterson, R., 'The "Hortus Platinus" at Heidelberg and the Reformation of the World', *Journal of Garden History*, vol. 1, 1981, p. 84.
- 78 Apart from P.Fraser (*A Catalogue of Drawings by Inigo Jones... in the Burlington-Devonshire Collection*, London, 1960, p. 96) and J.Summers (in *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, Harmondsworth, 7th edn, 1983, p. 136), who note this source without comment, a tradition of incorrect attribution surrounds Jones's portico—identifying it with Palladio's temple of Antoninus and Faustina: for example, J.Harris, with S.Orgel and R.Strong, in *The King's Arcadia*, London, 1973, p. 143, and again Harris's entry for Jones in the *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects*, London, 1982, p. 510, and Parry, op. cit., p. 261, n.32, Harris and Higgott, op. cit., p. 240. J.Summers, in 'Lectures on a Master Mind. Inigo Jones', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. 50, 1964, attributes Jones's portico to both temples, p. 189.
- 79 Jones notes in the left-hand margin: 'The Templs of Soll and Luna. I'. 'B. The portio is 1/4 parte of the tempell from C to D...Noat that the statues on y^e Acroterri are much bigger then thos ouer y^e collomes being farder from the eye and to agree with the bignes of the collom.' Against the elevation: 'Thes statues are in hight 1/4 part of the collom Architrave freese and cornish' (Book IV, Chapter 10, in his Palladio, pp. 48-9).
- 80 Carew, T., *Coelum Britannicum*, 1634, line 439.
- 81 Jones, I., *STONE-HENG Restored*, 1655, London, pp. 101-2.
- 82 Jones notes 'This *facciata* is of Palladio's invention and was used for the front of the Temple of Peace'.
- 83 See Rykwert, J. and Tavernor, R., 'Sant' Andrea, Mantua', *Architects Journal*, 21 May 1986, p. 42.
- 84 For the sun in Dee's work, see Clulee, N., *John Dee's Natural Philosophy*, London, 1988, pp. 55-7, 89.
- 85 See the Introduction.
- 86 Hollar records an obelisk on each of the corners of Jones's cathedral; however, in his 'Pre-Fire' drawing Wren shows one crowning each upper 'pier', throughout the nave and transepts.
- 87 Augustus used an obelisk as a sundial in the Campus Martius, Rome, see Pliny, *Natural History* (trans. H.Rackham and D.E.Eichhoiz), London, 1938, Book 36, Chapters 63-73; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, London, 11th edn, 1910-11: "Obelisk" ...were sheathed in bright metal, catching and reflecting the sun's rays... They were dedicated to solar deities, and were especially numerous at Heliopolis.'
- 88 See Corbett, M. and Lightbown, R., *The Comely Frontispiece*, London, 1979, p. 139.
- 89 In Thomas Campion's *The Lords Maske*, 1613; see *Campion's Works* (ed. S.P. Vivian), Oxford, 1909, description of scene p. 98. On the Heidelberg obelisk, see Patterson, op. cit., pp. 94-5.
- 90 See *DNB*, entry for Jones, and Tierney, M., *History... of Arundel*, London, 1834, p. 436.
- 91 Clarendon, reported by Milman, H.H., *Annals of S.Paul's Cathedral*, London, 1868, p. 335, records that all shops in Cheapside and Lombard Street, except those of goldsmiths, were directed to be closed; this was probably a reference to booths standing on the public way.
- 92 See Sharpe, K., *Criticism and Compliment*, Cambridge, 1987, pp. 205, 207-8.
- 93 Greville's house is the 'spiritual' home for this, for it appears the actual debate took place in the French embassy. See introductory notes to Giordano Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper* (ed. and trans. E.Gosselin and L.Lerner), Connecticut, 1977, p. 56 n.43.
- 94 See Westman, op. cit.

- 95 See introduction to *The Ash Wednesday Supper* (Bruno, op. cit.), p. 40: 'Sidney and others mentioned in the dialogue...either were students or friends of Dee, or employed Dee to tutor their children...[all] were familiar with the writings of Hermes'. See also Clulee, op. cit., p. 192.
- 96 The Second Dialogue, in Bruno, op. cit., p. 123.
- 97 The Fourth Dialogue, *ibid.*, pp. 189 and 197 n.47.
- 98 Yates, F., 'The Religious Policy of Giordano Bruno', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 3, 1939–40, p. 189.
- 99 Dugdale, op. cit., p. 135.
- 100 Bruno certainly influenced Greville's work, see Yates, F., *The French Academies*, London, 1947, p. 227 n.2. Greville influenced Jones's design of the Banqueting House and employed Jones to build a house, before 1620. Palme, P., *The Triumph of Peace*, London, 1957, p. 54, noted that Greville was 'the living embodiment of Elizabethan Humanism...chosen by virtue of [his] ...offices at Court...stressed because it gives us the key to the functional programme of the building'.
- 101 Waller, E., 'Of the Queen', quoted in Parry, op. cit., p. 208.
- 102 See Yates, F., *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, London, 1972, p. 68; Fagiolo Dell'Arco, M., 'Il giardino come teatro del mondo e della memoria', *La città effimera e l'universo artificiale del giardino*, Rome, 1980, pp. 125–41; Patterson, op. cit. On the art of memory and the English garden, see Dixon-Hunt, J., *The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination 1600–1750*, London, 1986, pp. 68–9.
- 103 See Strong and Orgel, *Inigo Jones: the Theatre of the Stuart Court*, vol. I, p. 58. For Arundel's statue collection and garden see Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, p. 112 and Chapter 7, pp. 167–97; Dixon-Hunt, op. cit., pp. 120–1.
- 104 See Loach, op. cit.
- 105 See *Civitas Solis* (trans. A.M.Elliott and R.Millner), London, 1981. For a discussion of Campanella's 'City of the Sun', see Westman, op. cit., pp. 54–5.
- 106 Campanella's *De Monarchia Hispanica* was translated by E.Chilmead in 1654, and republished in London with an 'Admonitorie Preface' by William Prynne in 1660. The *Civitas Solis* was known in England quite early, since Robert Burton mentions it, somewhat sceptically, in the Foreword to his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Oxford, 1621; it is possible that Campanella's ideas influenced the Neoplatonist Nicholas Hill in his attempt to found a utopia on Lundy Island in 1600; see Trevor-Roper, op. cit., pp. 1–39; Wotton owned an edition of Campanella's *De sensu rerum et magia libri quatuor...T.Adami recensuit, et nunc primum evulgavit*, Frankfurt, 1620; see Wotton, H., *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton* (ed. L.P.Smith), Oxford, 1907, vol. II, p. 486; the 'Christian Platonism' of Herbert of Cherbury, with its emphasis on sun worship, represented the 'Ancient Theology' stemming from Campanella and Bruno: see Walker, D.P., *The Ancient Theology*, London, 1972, Chapter 5, especially pp. 177–8; Campanella's influence continued into the Commonwealth, recommended by John Webster in *Academiarum Examen, or the Examination of Academies*, London, 1654; see Webster, C., *The Great Instauration*, London, 1975, p. 513.
- 107 See Yates, F., *The Art of Memory*, London, 1966, pp. 377–8.
- 108 Rykwert, J., *The First Moderns*, London, 1980, p. 139, notes in passing that it was 'a great time for ideal cities: Campanella's *City of the Sun* appeared in 1623, and Andreae's *Christianopolis* in 1619...Jones incorporated this idea through the rebuilding of London'.
- 109 Ficino, M., *Opera Omnia*, Basel, 1576, vol. I, pp. 530, 548–61; see also Walker, D.P., *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, London, 1958, pp. 13–16; Mebane, op. cit., pp. 22–35.
- 110 Dee, J., 'Grondplat', at the end of the 'Preface'.

- 111 *Asclepius*, III, 24a in *Hermetica* (trans. W.Scott), Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924–36 edn, vol. 1, pp. 339–41, pp. 359–61 (*Corpus Hermeticum* (ed. and trans. A.D.Nock and A.Festugiere), Paris, 1945–54 edn, vol. 2, pp. 326–7). See Yates, F., *Giordano Bruno*, London, 1964, pp. 3, 5.
- 112 *Picatrix*, lib. iv, cap. 3 (B.M.Sloane 1305, fol. IIIr); translated in part and discussed by Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, pp. 49–55.
- 113 See Yates, F., *Shakespeare's Last Plays*, London, 1975, pp. 89–90; Brooks-Davies, op. cit., pp. 91, 97–9.
- 114 Text in Spenser, T.J. and Wells, S. (eds) *A Book of Masques*, Cambridge, 1967, pp. 127–48.
- 115 Agrippa, op. cit., Book II, Chapter 1, p. 249 notes: 'such as those which amongst the Ancients were called Dedalus his Images, and automata, of which Aristotle makes mention, viz. the threefooted Images of Vulcan, and Dedalus, moving themselves'.

EPILOGUE: APOCALYPTIC COURT ART AND ALBION'S SECOND RUIN

- 1 See Yates, F., *The Occult Philosophy*, London, 1979, Chapter 17; Brooks-Davies, D., *The Mercurian Monarch*, Manchester, 1983, Chapter 3. For the magical-prophetic background to seventeenth-century Puritanism, see Rattansi, P., 'Paracelsus and the Puritan Revolution', *Ambix*, vol. 11, 1963, pp. 24–32; Thomas, K., *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, London, 1971, pp. 155–6, 305–7.
- 2 See Koyre, A., *From the Closed World to the Infinite Universe*, London, 1974; Webster, C., *From Paracelsus to Newton, Magic and the Making of Modern Science*, Cambridge, 1982; Koestler, A., *The Sleepwalkers*, London, 1959.
- 3 John Leland, one of the first antiquarians, undertook a survey of English antiq-uities before 1548, and this project was later extended by, amongst others, William Camden and Selden. Camden's *Britannia* was first published in 1587 and represented a milestone in the antiquarian enterprise. Selden's evident interest in Jones's Stonehenge survey was another aspect of this. For a development of modern English historiography, see Levine, J., *Humanism and History*, Ithaca, 1987, especially pp. 19–53 (Caxton), 79–82 (Leland), 91–2 (Camden).
- 4 Charleton, W., *CHOREA GIGANTUM*, London, 1663, p. 5.
- 5 Platonism continued to play an important role in the work of Elias Ashmole, Robert Moray, and John Webb, all of whom had, however, been closely associated with Charles's Court. Platonic cosmology would also inform the poetry of George Herbert and Henry Vaughan; see Kermode, F. (ed.) *George Herbert and Henry Vaughan*, Oxford, 1986. Perhaps the most important group to reflect Platonism in their writing after the Stuart period were the 'Cambridge Platonists' —Ralph Cudworth, Henry More, John Smith, Nathaniel Culverwell, and their founder, Benjamin Whichcote; see Cassirer, E., *The Platonic Renaissance in England* (trans. J.Pettegrove), London, 1953; Cragg, G. (ed.) *The Cambridge Platonists*, New York, 1968; Patrides, C.A. (ed.) *The Cambridge Platonists*, London, 1969. See also Henry More's *Conjectura Cabbalistica...or a Conjectural Essay of Interpreting the Minde of Moses, according to a threefold Cabbala: viz Literal, Philosophical, Mystical, or Divinely Moral*, London, 1653, and *Apocalypsis Apocalypseos; or the Revelation of St John the Divine unveiled: an exposition from chapter to chapter and from verse to verse of the whole Book of the Apocalypse*, London, 1680. Men associated with the emergence of modern science (displayed interest in themes recognisable from the earlier, Hermetic tradition and its mystical, alchemical approach to nature. Boyle pursued the age-old chimera of the transmutation of base metals

- into gold, whilst Newton studied alchemy and attempted to decipher the language of prophecy in the Book of Revelation.
- 6 For the decline of the concept of the 'magician king' related to *The Rape of the Lock*, see Brooks-Davies, op. cit., pp. 180–94.
 - 7 See Patrides, C.A. and Wittreich, J. (eds) *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature*, Manchester, 1984, especially p. 63 on Botticelli.
 - 8 See Thomas, op. cit., p. 167.
 - 9 See *Asclepius*, III, 24a–26a in *Hermetica* (trans. W.Scott), Oxford, 1924–36 edn, vol. 1, pp. 339–41 (*Corpus Hermeticum* (ed. A.D.Nock and A.Festugiere), Paris, 1945–54 edn, vol. 2, pp. 326–331).
 - 10 See Bruno, G., *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* (trans. A.D.Imerti), New Brunswick, NJ, 1964, pp. 241–2.
 - 11 See Brooks-Davies, op. cit., p. 54; on Bruno's *Spaccio*, see Yates, F., *The Art of Memory*, London, 1966, pp. 314–15.
 - 12 See Pico's 'Oration' in *On the Dignity of Man, On Being and the One, Heptaplus* (trans. C.G.Wallis, P.J.Miller, and D.Carmichael), Indianapolis, 1965; discussed by Mebane, J.S., *Renaissance Magic and the Return of the Golden Age*, Lincoln, Nebr., 1989, p. 47.
 - 13 See Brooks-Davies, op. cit., p. 41.
 - 14 Marcelline, G., *Epithalamium, Gallo-Britannicum*, London, 1625, p. 90.
 - 15 See Parry, G., *Golden Age Restor'd*, Manchester, 1981, pp. 199–202.
 - 16 See Patrides and Wittreich, op. cit., pp. 214, 233 n.32. See also Nicolson, M.H., *The Breaking of the Circle*, New York, 1960 edn.
 - 17 Walker, D.P., *The Ancient Theology*, London, 1972, p. 175.
 - 18 See Simpson, W.S., *Chapters in the History of Old St Paul's*, London, 1881, pp. 51, 139; Thomas, op. cit., pp. 29, 119.
 - 19 Farley, H., *Portland-Stone in Paules-Church yard*, London, 1622, repro. Simpson, W.S., *St Paul's Cathedral and Old City Life*, London, 1894, p. 200. For interpretation of 'SHILO' as paradise see *Encyclopaedia Biblica* London, 1899.
 - 20 Webb, J., *VINDICATION*, London, 1725 edn, p. 27.
 - 21 *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)*, 1660–61, p. 366: in the Records Office is a copy of a Remonstrance dated 30 November 1660, addressed to Charles II concerning the English Jews, in which it is stated that 'as countenanced by the said late Userpers [they] endeavoured in his time to buy the famous Cathedral church of Paul's to have made you a synagogue'; and Robert Menteith, in *The History of the troubles of Great Britain* (trans. J.Ogilvie), London, 1735 edn, records that the Jews had made an offer of £500,000 for the cathedral, but the council of war demanded £800,000.
 - 22 See Yates, *The Occult Philosophy*, p. 111 (exile of Jews), p. 109 (Jews and Cabala). D' Blossiers Tovey's *Anglia Judaica*, Oxford, 1738, published this rumour alongside 'The Humble Address of Menasseh Ben Israel', pp. 259–61.
 - 23 See Thomas, op. cit., pp. 167–9.
 - 24 See Binski, P., 'What was the Westminster Retable?', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. 140, 1987, pp. 159–65.
 - 25 In his Neoplatonic eulogy, Marcelline had compared James's reign with one of the mysteries of nature, 'the Palme-tree, which distributeth his nourishment to his leaves and branches, even as if it were by just weight & measure' (*Triumphs*, London, 1610, p. 14).
 - 26 In the unperformed *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion*, 1624. See Orgel, S., *The Illusion of Power*, Berkeley, Calif., 1975, p. 73:

Jones's island is covered with an arbor, as the text requires; but it is an arbor of palms, not a banyan tree...the choice of palms can hardly have been accidental. The all-powerful Neptune's island bears emblems of peace; the returning prince appears beneath the

NOTES

branches that heralded Christ's entry into Jerusalem. The association of James's pacifism with the peace of God, and of his capital with the holy city, formed an important part of Jacobean official imagery from the very beginning of the reign.

- 27 See Kantorowicz, E.H., *The King's Two Bodies*, Princeton, 1957, p. 83 n.103.

APPENDIX

- 1 Webb, J., *VINDICATION*, London, 1725 edn, p. 118. Harvey himself seems to have excavated at the monument, for, according to Webb, an 'abundance of ...[sculls] were digged up by Dr. Harvey' (ibid., p. 123).
- 2 See Parry, G., Introduction to 1972 facsimile of the 1655 edition of *STONE-HENG Restored*. See in general Chippindale, C., *Stonehenge Complete*, London, 1983.
- 3 Jones, I., *STONE-HENG Restored*, London, 1655 edn, p. 35.
- 4 In June 1637 carpenters erected scaffolding for the first, second and third stones to each column and railed in the base mouldings to 'save from breaking', in August scaffolding for the fourth and fifth stones was erected (W.A.8), and by March 1638 carpenters had erected scaffolding for the 'last six stones' (W.A.10) —making eleven 'monumental' stones to each column.
- 5 Tait, A.A., 'Inigo Jones's "Stone-Heng"', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 120, 1978, p. 156. For a general discussion of *STONE-HENG Restored*, see Bold, J., *John Webb*, Oxford, 1989, pp. 48–9.
- 6 Tait, op. cit., n.6.
- 7 Webb, op. cit., p. 118.
- 8 Aubrey, J., in Fowles, J. and Legg, R. (eds) *John Aubrey's 'Monumenta Britannica'*, Sherborne, 1980, pp. 19–20, also 74–102.
- 9 Ibid., p. 19.
- 10 Stukeley, W., *Stonehenge, a Temple Restored to the British Druids*, London, 1740, p. 25.
- 11 Cunningham, P., *Inigo Jones: a Life of the Architect*, London, 1848, p. 25.
- 12 Gotch, J.A., *Inigo Jones*, London, 1928, p. 17.
- 13 Yates, F., *Theatre of the World*, London, 1969, pp. 82, 177–8.
- 14 Webb, op. cit., p. 118.
- 15 Orgel, S., 'Inigo Jones on Stonehenge', *Prose*, vol. 3, 1971, p. 110.
- 16 Bold, op. cit., p. 47.
- 17 Higgott, G., "'Varying with Reason", Inigo Jones's Theory of Design', *Architectural History*, vol. 35, 1992, p. 51.
- 18 See Bold, op. cit., pp. 7–8.
- 19 The works accounts record Webb's site involvement, including the 'makeinge the tracings of them according to Mr Surveyor's directions for the workemen to followe for all the tyme, being with the worke began at first seaven yeares' (W.A. 13, December 1639).

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Full titles of works given in the Notes are to be found in the Bibliography. Unless otherwise indicated, quotes from masques are taken from: Strong, R. and Orgel, S., *Inigo Jones: the Theatre of the Stuart Court*, 2 vols, London, 1973. An important general source for the study of Jones is his annotations to the books comprising his library, the majority of which are at Worcester College, Oxford (these are listed in Harris, J., Orgel, S. and Strong, R., *The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Stuart Court*, London, 1973, Appendix III, pp. 217–18—indicating titles and editions with annotations). Here are works on themes such as the history of the Roman empire, and books covering the related subjects of mechanics, geometry, music, fortifications, and architecture. The collection includes his Plato, Alberti, Scamozzi, Vasari, and the famous Palladio. Jones owned and annotated a 1601 edition of Palladio's *I quattro libri dell'architettura*, of which there is a transcription (ed. B. Allsopp, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1970) used here. Jones's copy of G.P.Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura et architettura* (1584) is in a private collection (Ben Weinreb). Editions of Serlio with Jones's annotations are held at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal (*Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospetiva di Sebastiano Serlio Bolognese* (1601 edn), comprising the first three books) and at Queen's College, Oxford (*D'architettura di Sebastiano Serlio*, Venice, 1560–2 edn), whilst his Vitruvius is in the Devonshire Collection at Chatsworth House (*Vitruvius*, ed. Barbaro, Venice, 1556) as is his Roman sketchbook. Chatsworth also holds the vast majority of Jones's masque drawings (for Jones's masque designs see Strong and Orgel, *Theatre*, 1973; two drawings (for proscenium arches) are in the R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection (*The Triumph of Peace*, *The Temple of Love*), a design for an arch is in the Paul Mellon Collection, and the backdrop comprising the Whitehall Banqueting House is in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York). The remainder of Jones's drawings, other than for the masque, are held at the R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection, Worcester College and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and at Chatsworth (for these see Harris, J. and Higgott, G., *Inigo Jones, Complete Architectural Drawings*, New York, 1989).

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INDEX

- absolutism: declining belief in 192–3;
 masques written in support of 189;
 and Neoplatonism 190, 191; under
 Charles I 17, 23, 24, 85, 163; under
 the Medici 17
- Aeneas, as ancestor of British kings
 32
- Agli, Nicola d'Antonio degli, *Nozze* 94
- Agrippa, H.C. 1, 5 on mechanical and
 mathematical requirements for
 magic 84, 87; on musical magic
 138; and sun symbolism 157; *De
 Occulta Philosophia* 13, 130, 186
- Alberti, Leon Battista 8, 15 concept of
 proportion 84, 145–7, 148; *De re
 aedificatoria* 74, 126, 130, 145–6
- Albion Milton's use of concept 190;
 Stuart evocation of 32–7, 44, 46
- alchemy 2, 3–4 emblematics of 30–1;
 later development of 242n.; and
 medical works 137; practised by
 churchmen 45; satire on 9; uniting
 heaven and earth 92, 195
- Alciati, Andrea, *Emblemata* 61
- Alexander VI, Pope 3
- Anne of Denmark, Queen of England
 9–10; and garden design 96, 97,
 100
- Anne, Queen of Great Britain 192
- anti-masques 9;
 and garden design 103; 'grotesque'
 elements 20; as warning against
 disunity 58; *see also* masques
- architectural Orders 53–4, 66–78;
 Biblical origins of 69, 71; as branch
 of royal and civic heraldry 163, 165;
 Compounded 76; Corinthian 54, 67,
 71, 74, 75, 76, 142; and design of
 Banqueting House, Whitehall 142;
 Doric 76; and emblematics and
 hieroglyphics 73–4; Ionic 75, 142;
 Jones's use of 142–3; as male and
 female proportions 126; and
 masonry 107; and proportion 149–
 50; as Renaissance pattern book
 iconography 123–4; significance of
 columns 66–8; similarity with
 heraldry 77; Tuscan 53–4, 74, 77,
 131–2, 143, 169, 185; used in
 masques 78
- architecture: and art of memory 79–83;
 as 'frozen music' 145–6; influence
 of emblem books on 61–2; origins
 of 56; and perspective 90–1; and
 Platonic *Idea* 14–16; reflecting royal
 harmony 190; relationship of art
 and science in 2; use of column as
 heraldic element 67–8
- Ariosto, *Orlando furioso* 64–5
- Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 131
- Arthur, King 32–3, 36, 42, 46, 50, 58,
 63–4; and Stonehenge 54–5
- artist: accused of practising black
 magic 12; role in Renaissance Court
 3
- Arundel, Lord 80

- Asclepius* 194
 Ashmole, Elias: on Druids 55; on foundation stones of St Paul's 106–7; and Freemasonry 109; on Garter procession 159, 214n.
 astrology 2; and foundation ceremonies 107, 186–7; and geometry 132–3; and theatre plans 122–3
 Aubrey, John 53, 165; *Life of Bacon* 81; on *STONE-HENG Restored* 203
 Augustine, St 50; *De civitate Dei* 130; *De Musica* 136
 Aurelius, King of Britain 52–3
 automata: and mechanical magic 5, 87–8; role in masques 89–90; in Stuart gardens 91, 93–4, 102

 Bacon, Francis 98, 112; and Neoplatonism 4; on uses of architecture 80–1; *The Advancement of Learning* 4, 26; *New Atlantis* 10; *Novum Organum* 80–1; Solomon's House 210n.
 Banqueting House, Whitehall 8, 16–17, 18, 19, 20, 26, 34, 40, 50, 53, 86, 131; ceiling 105, 106, 111, 142, 149, 153, 165; embodying duality of light and dark 165; and execution of Charles I 193; facade 165; grotto 102–3; Jones's design for 66, 140–50
 Baronius, Caesar 112
 Bate, John, *The Mysteryes of Nature and Art* 94
 Beaumont, Francis, *Masque of the Inner Temple* 187
 Bede, *Chronicles* 54
 Bedford, Countess of, garden at Twickenham Park 92
 Bible: Authorized Version 178, 179, *Ezekiel* 106, 109, 111; *Genesis* 60; *Kings* 67, 107; *Numbers* 71; *Revelation* 42, 193–4, 199–200; *Wisdom* 136
 black magic 1, 9–10
 body: concept of king's mystical body 24–5, 155; Neoplatonic view of 14–16; and proportions of temple 125–7
 Bohemia, alchemical—Hermetic: interests in 3–4
 Bold, John, on *STONE-HENG Restored* 204
 Bolton, Edmund 71, 73, 181, 208n.; on architecture and Platonic *Idea* 16; and art of memory 80; on London companies 45; on mechanics 129–30; on refacing of St Paul's 108; *The Elements of Armories* 63, 75
 Brahe, Tycho 5, 207n.; garden design 92–3; *Astronomica Instauratae Mechanica* 93
 Browne, Thomas, *The Garden of Cyrus ...Mystically considered* 92
 Brunelleschi, and linear perspective 84
 Bruno, Giordano 5, 155; and art of memory 79; and Hermeticism 52; influence of 40; on state of London 7; *La cena de la cenere* 182–3; *Degli eroici furori* 187; *Lo spaccio della bestia trionfante* 40, 64, 194
 Brute (ancestor of British kings) 32, 45, 50, 53, 58
 De Bry, Theodore, time in England 5
 Buckingham, Duke of 26, 27, 112, 213n.; and Neoplatonism 4
 Buontalenti, Bernardo 8
 Bushell, Thomas, grotto 94
 Busino, Orazio 20

 Cabalism 2–3, 5, 17, 106, 134–5, 175, 192; and court sermons 47–8; and Druids 55–6; and ecumenism 52; and evocation of Apocalypse 194–5; and significance of names 48–9; and Stuart Church 45
 Cadwallader (last of British rulers) 32, 46
 Calvinism 51–2
 Camden, William, *Britannia* 241n.
 Camillo, Giulio, Renaissance memory theatre 80
 Campanella, Tommaso, *Civitas Solis* 185–6, 240n.
 Campbell, Colen: drawing of the Banqueting House 147, 233n., 234n., 237n.;
Vitruvius Britannicus 8
 Cardan, Jerome 20
 Carew, Thomas 17; *Coelum Britannicum* 40–2, 55, 64, 89, 96, 98
 Casaubon, Isaac, and Hermeticism 192
 Cataneo, Pietro, *L'architettura* 126

- Catholicism: associated with Anti-Christ 46; and intellectual magic 10; as 'magic' 107; and Protestant symbolism 42; as usurping religion 64
- de Caus, Isaac 5; construction of grotto under Banqueting House 102–3; symbolism 64 garden design for Wilton House 103; *Le jardin de Wilton* 99, 103; *Nouvelle invention de lever l'eau...* 102
- de Caus, Salomon 5; garden at Heidelberg 100–2; garden design 96–102; *Hortus Palatinus* 101; *Institution Harmonique Diversee* *endeux Parties* 101; *La Perspective avec La Raison des Ombres et Miroirs* 97; *La Pratique et Demonstration des Horloges Solaires* 97; *Les Raisons des Forces Mouvantes avec diverses Machines* 97, 98, 102
- Caxton, William, *Mirroure of the World* 79
- Cesariano, Cesare, edition of Vitruvius 119, 120, 121–2
- Chapman, George 67, 208–9n. *Hymnus in Cynthiam* 156; *The Memorable Maske* 160–1; *Shadow of Night* 5
- Charles I, King of Great Britain 4; and absolutism 17, 23, 24, 85, 163; appearance in Court masques 20; awareness of Villalpando's temple drawings 78; execution 37, 193; imprisonment 111; and Mercurian concept of kingship 26–7; and Neoplatonic cult of love 22; representations of 4, 7, 13, 27, 28, 34, 39, 63, 64, 156–8, 198–9; solar and lunar imagery of 181; triumphal processions 162; *Eikon Basilike* 198–9
- Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor 31
- Charleton, Walter 121, 192; *CHOREA GIGANTUM* 58, 203
- chivalry: and craft guilds 78; evocation of by Stuarts 34–6; and heraldry 63; orders of 66–7; popularity of epics of 37, 40; and romance tradition 2
- Christianity: magic compatible with 1; and Neoplatonism 10; and solar religion 175
- Colet, John, and Neoplatonism 4–5
- Constantine, and British Christianity 50–1
- Corbet, Richard, Bishop, sermon on cathedral restoration 175
- Corinthian Order 54, 67, 71, 74, 75, 76, 142
- cosmology: and musical harmony 137–40; Neoplatonic 12, 68; reflected in gardens 92–3; representation in masques 16–23; significance of cube form 140–2; temple-theatre analogy 56
- costume design, influence of emblem books on 61–2
- court masques *see* anti-masques; masques
- Covent Garden, London, design of 165, 166, 168, 169
- craft guilds: analogies with tribes of Israel 45; and chivalry 78; and heraldry 63
- Cranach, on melancholy 13
- Crusaders 58, 78
- Cunningham, Peter, on *STONE-HENG Restored* 204
- dancing, and geometric hieroglyphs 128
- Daniel, Samuel: masque celebrating investiture of Prince Henry 100; translation of Giovio 62–3; *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* 13, 128–9
- Davenant, William 17; *Britannia Triumphans* 10, 27, 42, 43, 44, 51, 172, 182, 198; *Luminalia*, *The Queen's Festival of Light* 13–14, 157, 172; *Salmacida Spolia* 196–7
- Davies, Sir John, 'Elizabeth' 30–1
- Davies, Richard, *Chester's Triumph in Honor of her Prince* 26
- Daye, John, printer's mark 67, 69
- Dee, John 5; on architecture 7–8; and Cabalism 6; and Hermeticism 52; influence on stagecraft 89; and Inigo Jones 129–31; on mechanical magic 87–8; on musical harmony 138; on perspective 85, 86; ridiculed by Jonson 62; on rules of proportion 146, 148, 149; and *STONE-HENG Restored* 129–30, 201; on Vitruvius 71; on water—pumps

- 101; *General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the Perfect Art of Navigation* 31; *Monas hieroglyphica* 61, 88, 130, 137, 181, 189; 'Preface' to Euclid 6, 15, 16, 73, 90, 91, 124, 127, 129–30, 136, 141
- Dekker, Thomas 33; *London's Tempe* 176; *Troia-Nova Triumphans* *LONDON TRIUMPHING* 45, 161
- Divine Right 24–5, 32, 157–8, 190; *see also* absolutism
- dolphins, symbolic significance of 102
- Donne, John: design of tomb 178; and Neoplatonism 4, 176; on New Jerusalem 105; use of sun imagery 176–7; 'The Sunne Rising' 176
- dragons, significance of 42, 64
- Drayton, Michael 33; *Poly-Olbion* 34, 53, 55, 64, 100, 175
- Druids, and Stonehenge 55–6, 134, 203
- Dugdale, William 50, 172; on heraldry 71; *The History of St Paul's Cathedral in London* 42–3, 44, 106, 107–8, 183
- Durer, Albrecht: on melancholy 13; optical theories 85; *Apocalypsis cum figuris* 193
- Duvet, Jean, engravings 193
- ecumenism, role of Cabalism and Hermeticism 52
- Egypt: and Hermetic belief in original language 60–1; influence on Jones's *STONE-HENG RESTORED* 132, 134; magic originating in 1, 47; and origins of heraldry 62–3; predictions of fall of 194
- Elizabeth I, Queen of England: enhancement of image 30–1; as Fairy Queen 5–6; as goddess Astraea 95, 155–6; identified with Mercury 25–6; and moon imagery 156; representations of 67, 68, 95; and solar imagery 155–6; and succession issue 30; triumphal processions 158
- Elizabeth, Princess (daughter of James I) 3, 5 and garden design 97, 100–2; marriage to Elector Palatine 100, 160–1, 182
- emblematics 1, 2; alchemical 30–1; and art of artificial memory 79–83; company emblems 164–5; concealment of emblems 122; emblem books 61; as symbolic language 1–2
- Escorial Palace, Madrid 8, 109, 110, 111, 112, 121, 123, 134, 140
- Essex, Earl of 137
- Euclid: Dee's 'Preface' to 6, 15, 16, 73, 90, 91, 124, 127, 129–30, 136, 141; *Elementa* 127
- Fairthorne, William, map of London 45, 164
- Fanshawe, Sir Henry 95, 98
- Farley, Henry: on cathedral restoration 198; illustration of St Paul's Cathedral 174; illustration of triumphal processions 173; *The Complaint of Paule's* 139–40; *Portland-Stone in Paules-Church yard* 108
- Felton, John, assassination of Duke of Buckingham 27
- Ficino, Marsilio 2, 4, 63; on art and magic 12–13; commentary on Plato's *Symposium* 16, 187; on cube form 140; on mechanics 86–7; on talismans 186; *Theologia Platonica* 13; *De Triplici Vita* 13
- Fiennes, Celia, on Wilton House garden 103
- Flitcroft, Henry: engraving of St Paul's Cathedral 42, 115–16
- Fludd, Robert 82, 221n.; artificial memory theatre 80, 83, 153, 185; on duality of dark and light 165, 167; imperial symbolism of sun 157; *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* 45; *Utriusque Cosmi . . . Historia* 26, 80, 88, 185
- Fontainebleau, garden at 94
- Foxe, John, *Acts and Monuments* 51, 67, 69, 194
- Francesco I of Florence 97
- Francini, Tommaso 94
- Frederick V, King of Bohemia 3
- Freemasonry, and refacing of St Paul's Cathedral 109
- Freemasonry *see also* masons
- Fulwood, William, *The Castel of Memorie* 79, 184–5
- gardens 7; automata in 91, 93–4, 102; demonstrating changing attitudes to

- natural world 103–4; destruction of in Civil War 103; grottoes in 93–5; as images of Eden 92–104; and melancholic contemplation 13; Neoplatonic influence on 5; presenting cosmic unity 94–6; and Renaissance symbolism 68; Villa d'Este, Tivoli 93; Villa Pratolino, Florence 93–4, 97
- Garter, Order of the 37, 39, 40, 41–2, 63, 77–8, 100, 159, 162, 214n., 220n.
- Geoffrey of Monmouth: ridicule of 192; on Stonehenge 52–3; *Historia Regum Britanniae* 32–3, 36, 44, 46, 50, 58, 64
- geomancy 3
- geometry: and astrology 132–3; and cathedral plans 122–4; in dancing in masques 128; Jones's use of in plans for St Paul's Cathedral 115, 116–19; 'mystical' 65; and theatre plans 122–3
- George, St 41–2, 63
- Gerbier, Sir Balthazar, *A Brief Discourse concerning the three chief Principles of Magnificent Building* 44
- Gerung, on melancholy 13
- Gibraltar, straits of 67
- Giorgi, Francesco 15 *De harmonia mundi* 109
- Glastonbury 50
- Globe Theatre, London 123, 124, 130
- Golden Age 14, 22 Tudor and Stuart renewal of 30–46; use of mythology from 30–1
- Gordon, John: sermons on James I's rule 47–8; on symbolism of pillars 67; *The Peace of the Communion of the Church of England* 47–8; *Sermon of the Union of Great Brittannie* 48–50, 51, 61
- Gotch, J.A., on *STONE-HENG Restored* 204
- Gothic, cathedrals 121–2, 123–4, 135
- Grail legend 46, 50
- Greville, Sir Fulke 5, 182–4
- grottoes, and magico—spiritual enlightenment 93–5
- Guillim, John, *A Display of Heraldrie* 73–4, 76
- Hampton Court, gardens 68
- Harbert, William 33: *A PROPHEsie of Cadwallader, Last King of the Brittaines* 34
- Harrington, Sir John, on James I 10
- Harrison, Stephen, *Arches of Triumph* 160
- Harvey, William 80, 132, 201
- Hatfield House, garden design 97, 98
- Hawes, Stephen, *Pastime of Pleasure* 79
- Haydock, Richard, translation of Lomazzo 16
- Heidelberg, Salomon de Caus's garden design at 100–2
- Henri III, King of France 155, 165, 192
- Henrietta Maria, Queen of England 27, 28, 230n.; and garden design 102, 156; and Neoplatonic cult of love 22; representations of 64; solar and lunar imagery of 181
- Henry, Prince (son of James I) 5, 20, 26, 55, 61, 65; death 100; interest in garden design 94, 96–8, 100; made Garter Knight 40; masque celebrating investiture of 100; masques dedicated to 98, 100; masques featuring 34–6, 37
- Henry VIII, King of England 33
- heraldry: and accession of James I 63; architectural Orders as branch of 77, 163; Biblical origins of 69, 71; in company emblems 164–5; given Egyptian origin 62–3; talismanic virtues of 64–5
- Herbert of Cheshire, Lord, *De Veritate* 52
- Herbert, Philip, fourth Earl of Pembroke 103, 201, 204
- Herbert, William, Earl of Pembroke 201
- Hermeticism 2, 3, 10, 47, 132, 134, 192, 209n.; belief in original language 60–1; Christianisation of 56; and ecumenism 52; and hieroglyphics 60; and origins of Solomon's temple 71; source books 186–7
- Hero of Alexandria 94, 102
- Pneumatics* 87
- Hesperides, Garden of the 32, 41–2, 223n.

- van Heurne, Johan 16
 Heylyn, Peter, on symbolism of dragon 42
 Heywood, Thomas: solar imagery of kingship 155–6; *Life of MERLIN* 33–4; *TROIA BRITANICA: or, Great Britaine's Troy* 33, 176
 hieroglyphics 1; characterising Stuart Britain as original garden 61; and dancing in masques 128; emblem books 61; and Hermetic belief in original language 60–1; as language of alchemy and Platonic ideas 61; on triumphal arches 158–9
 Higgott, Gordon, on *STONE-HENG Restored* 204
 von Hohenheim, Theophrastus Bombast (Paracelsus) 1
 Holbein, Hans 9
 Hollar, Wenceslaus 112; illustration of St Paul's Cathedral 183; representation of Mercury-Hermes 27, 29
 van Honthorst, Gerard, 'Apollo and Diana' 27, 28, 156–7
 Howell, James, *LONDONOPOLIS* 50
 Hutchinson, Lucy 4

 icons 2
 images, use of 51–2
 imagination: and magic 13–14; and melancholy 13

 James I and VI, King of Great Britain 4; and art of memory 79; attitude to witchcraft 9, 10; awareness of Villalpando's temple drawings 78; as British Solomon 105, 111, 149; commissioning of Jones 134; on king's 'two bodies' 24; and Mercurian concept of kingship 26; official genealogy 176, 177; and Order of the Garter 37; representations of 155–6; and restoration of Albion 33; seen as head of reunited Holy Roman Empire 50–1; seen to bring New Jerusalem 46–7; and Stonehenge 53; triumphal processions 158–9, 163, 164, 172–3, 182, 184; and Tycho Brahe 5; visit to Hveen 93; *Basilikon Doron* 24, 61, 161; *Daemonologie* 9, 209n.; *Works* 70, 181–2
 Johnson, Samuel, on Cabalism 192
 Jones, Inigo 4 and authorship of *STONE-HENG Restored* 53–5, 56–8, 74, 131, 201–5; and Ben Jonson 8, 17, 62, 126, 150–3; and Cabalism 134–5; and court masques 6, 34–6, 38, 89, 152; and Court of Prince Henry 5; and Covent Garden design 165, 168, 169; design of Banqueting House, Whitehall 4, 16–17, 140–50; designs for Townshend's *Albion's Triumph* 89; on geometry and astrology 132–3; and Henry Wotton 76–7; and idea of mystic kingship 51; Italian influences on 53; and John Dee 129–31; and Jonson's *Prince Henry's Barriers* 34–6, 38; and Lomazzo 16; and *Love's Triumph through Callipolis* 152; as magus 17, 20, 193; and Neoplatonism 8–9, 16, 140, 190; on Pantheon 141; and Robert Fludd 80; and St Paul's Cathedral 42–5, 52, 106, 113, 115–19, 121, 131–2, 134–5; and St Paul's, Covent Garden 53, 54; and sophistication of Stuart art 7; and Stonehenge 53–4, 55–8, 62, 119, 129–34, 192; study of Euclid 124–5; study of Palladio's temple of Le Galluce 119; translation of Plutarch 140; use of cube form 140–2; use of emblem books 61; use of mechanical devices 88–90; visit to Heidelberg 101; and Vitruvius 58, 119–21; *see also* Banqueting House, Whitehall; St Paul's Cathedral
 Jones, Sir Francis (Lord Mayor of London) 161
 Jonson, Ben 4; and Inigo Jones 8, 17, 62, 126, 150–3; use of emblem books 61; *The Alchemist* 9, 12, 62, 150; *Chloridia* 190, 196; *The Fortunate Isles and their Union* 153; *The Golden Age Restor'd* 31; *Hymenaei, the Masque of Union* 137, 156; *Love's Triumph through Callipolis* 23, 95, 152, 187–8, 190; *Love's Welcome at Bolsover* 22, 151–3, 225n., 230–1n.; *The Masque of Augurs* 176; *Masque of Blacknesse*

- 86, 156; *The Masque of Queens* 61–2; *Mercury Vindicated* 26, 187; *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion* 102–3, 150–1, 229n.; *Oberon, the Fairy Prince* 20, 37, 68, 90, 100, 125; *Pan's Anniversary* 138; *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* 20–2, 26, 89, 96, 187; *Prince Henry's Barriers* 34–6, 38, 40, 42, 47, 65–6, 98, 182; *The Tale of the Tub* 126; *Time Vindicated to Himself and to His Honours* 86, 150, 165, 167; *The Vision of Delight* 86
- Joseph of Arimathea, and British Christianity 50, 65
- Juxon, Bishop, on body of king 25
- King, John, Bishop 162–3; Cathedral restoration sermon 43–4, 173; sermon on harmony 139
- King's Evil 23–4
- kingship: concept of king's mystical body 24–5, 155; magical conception of 23–8; mysticism of expressed in court sermons 45–52; sun as symbol of 155–8
- Kircher, Athanasius 60
- Lambeth Palace 34
- language: emblem books representing international form of 61; Hermetic belief in original language 60–1; Webb on 127–8; *see also* Cabalism; hieroglyphics
- Laud, William, Archbishop of Canterbury 27, 41, 197, 226n.; and ecumenism 52; and foundation stones of St Paul's 106, 107; and Neoplatonism 4; on New Jerusalem 105; policy of beauty in holiness 178; use of geometric figures 129
- Leak, John, (trans.) *New and Rare Inventions of Waterworks* 102
- Lees-Milne, J., on *STONE-HENG Restored* 204
- legend, Stuart use of 28, 32–46
- Legh, Gerard, *The Accedence of Armory* 64
- Lomazzo, Giovanni Paolo: treatises on art 16; *Trattato* 85
- London: Lord Mayor's Procession 45, 161–2; as New Jerusalem 45, 78, 105, 182, 195; place in Stuart propaganda 43–5; route of royal processions 163–73; royal commissions controlling building in 182; twelve city companies 45, 161, 162, 164
- love, Neoplatonic cult of 22, 23, 129, 151–2
- Lucius, King of Britain 50
- Lull, Ramon 52; *Llibre qui es de l'orde de cavalleria* 37
- Lyon, Temple of, France 134, 184
- Lyte, Thomas, royal genealogy 176, 177
- Maier, Michael: and alchemical emblem 'movement' 4; time in England 5; *Atalanta fugiens* 92
- Mantegna, *The Triumph of Caesar* 173
- Marcelline, George 31, 51, 134, 157; marriage eulogy for Charles I 195; on musical harmony 139; on Protestant symbolism 42; on significance of names 48–9; urging new Crusade 58; *Epithalamium, Gallo-Britannicum* 25; *The Triumphs of King James the First* 46–7, 63–4, 100, 148, 149, 176
- Marlowe, Christopher, *Doctor Faustus* 9
- Marshall, William, frontispiece to Charles I's *Eikon Basilike* 199
- masons: and anthropomorphism 126; and art of memory 81; craft lore of 107; and refacing of St Paul's Cathedral 107–9; rituals of 15, 67, 81–2, 106; tracing origins to Solomon's temple 45, 78; traditions of secrecy 122; and use of architectural Orders 107
- masques 6–7, 8; and absolutism 16–23, 189; aiming to unite heaven and earth 196–7; combining chivalry with Neoplatonism 68; dancing in 128; depiction of Arcadia 92; and differences between ancient and modern theatre 151; expressing Platonic harmony 16–23, 189–90; geometric principles of 150; and imagination 13–14; mechanical and mathematical requirements 84, 88–90; and mnemonics 83; and Neoplatonic cult of love 22; presenting cosmic unity 16–23, 94–

INDEX

- 6; presenting harmony of Court 20–2; reading of garden elements within 96; and renewal of Golden Age 31; and triumphal processions 162–3; use of architectural Orders 78; use of heraldry in 64
- masques *see also* anti—masques *and under names of authors*
- mazes 96
- mechanics: and demonstration of natural laws 86–8; origins of 129–30
- Medici, Cosimo de' 2
- Medici Court, use of perspective 84
- melancholy, and artistic representation 13
- memory: Renaissance systems of 79–83; theatre of 185–6
- Mercury: and concept of monarchy 25–7; as first god 56; and London companies 45; symbolism in Renaissance art 25–6; *see also* Hermeticism
- Merlin 32, 36–7, 38, 42, 64 as mouthpiece for James I's image 33–4; and Stonehenge 52–3, 54
- Michelspacher, Steffan, *Cabala* 94
- microcosm—macrocosm analogy 14–16, 24–5, 137; and absolutism 191; decline of 193; and rules of proportion 143; *see also* Neoplatonism
- Middleton, Thomas, and Lord Mayor's procession 161–2
- Milan Cathedral, geometrical design of 119, 120
- Milton, John: and concept of Albion 190; *L'Allegro* 190
- Mirandola, Pico della 4
- mnemonics 79, 81–2; and sequence of building 184–8
- Moffett, Thomas 5
- Montagu, Walter 17; *The Shepherd's Paradise* 92
- moon, and symbolism of kingship 156–7
- Moryson, Fynes, on Villa Pratolino, Florence 94
- music: architecture as 'frozen music' 145–6; in masques 150; Neoplatonic view of 14; Pythagorean harmonics 145; representing cosmological harmony 137–40
- Mytens, Daniel 22
- names, significance of in Neoplatonism 48–9
- necromancy 3
- Neoplatonism 2; and absolutism 190, 191; and attitudes to masques 151; on biblical heroes as magicians 2; and Christianity 10; cosmology of 12, 68; and cult of love 22, 33, 129, 151–2; and emblematics 1; ending of influence 192–3; and gardens 5; introduction into England 4–5; and Puritanism 190, 191; and Reformation 189; as royalist propaganda 6–7; and significance of names 48–9; and Tudor poetry 5–6; uniting heaven and earth 14–16, 195
- von Nettesheim, Henry Cornelius Agrippa 1
- New Exchange, London 167, 170
- Newmarket, Prince's Lodging 141
- Nonsuch, gardens 68, 156
- numerology 65; Pythagorean 145; in ratios of Solomon's temple 148–9
- numerology *see also* proportion, rules of occultism 2
- occultism 2
- Orders *see* architectural Orders
- Orgel, Stephen, on *STONE-HENG Restored* 204
- painting: and Neoplatonic cult of love 22; representations of Charles I 4, 7, 13, 27, 25, 34, 39, 63, 156–8; representations of Elizabeth I 95
- painting, symbolic nature of 1–2
- Palladio, Andrea 8, 53; temple to Sun and Moon 178, 180, 183
- Paracelsus (Theophrastus Bombast von Hohenheim) 1
- de Passe, Crispin, Senior, engraving of Elizabeth I 67, 68
- Paul, St 126, 130
- Peacham, Henry: on Euclid 127; heraldic emblems 100; *The Compleat Gentleman* 122; *Minerva Britannia*

- or *A Garden of Heroical Devices* 61, 63, 82, 100
 perspective 84–6; effect on architecture 90–1; and garden design 96–7; projection of prince at centre 84–5; and use of grids in drawing 86
 Peter of Ravenna, *Phoenix* 79
 Philip II of Spain 109, 111, 192; and Hermetic-Cabalist philosophy 3
 philosopher's stone 156
Picatrix (Hermetic source book) 186–7
 Pilkington, James, on St Paul's Cathedral 51
 Plato: *The Republic* 16, 26, 140; *Symposium* 12, 16, 187; *Timaeus* 12, 14, 127, 128, 140; *see also* Neoplatonism
 poetry, Neoplatonic influence on 5–6
 Pope, Alexander, *The Rape of the Lock* 192
 prophecies 31; of Act of Union 48; apocalyptic 194–5, 198
 proportion, rules of: Alberti's conception of 145–7, 148; in Banqueting House, Whitehall 143–50; and concept of justice 149; and microcosm-macrocosm analogy 143
 Puritanism, and Neoplatonism 190, 191

 Queen's House, Greenwich 122, 141
Quest of the Holy Grail, The 46, 65

 Raleigh, Sir Walter: *The History of the World* 31; *Ocean's Love to Cynthia* 156
 Raphael, *School of Athens* 13, 16
 Reformation 7; and Neoplatonism 189; and Protestant scheme of church history 31
 Richmond, garden designs for 96, 97–8, 100
 Ripa, Cesare, *Iconologia* 61–2
 Roger of Hoveden 54
 Rosicrucians 10, 82, 94, 153; and Freemasonry 109
 Royal Society 10
 Rubens, Peter Paul: painting ceiling of Banqueting House, Whitehall 16–17, 26, 53, 77, 142, 165; representations of Charles I 4; *Landscape with St George and the Dragon* 34
 Rudolf II, Emperor of Austria 5, 97, 192; and Hermetic-Cabalist philosophy 3; mechanical collection 88
 Rykwert, Joseph, on Inigo Jones 123

 St George's Chapel, Windsor 155
 St Germain-en-Laye, garden at 94
 St James's Chapel, London 141
 St Paul's Cathedral, London 8, 27, 28, 42–5, 52, 74, 165, 166; ancient temples preceding 175–6; and Cabalism 134–5; design for pulley 90, 91; foundation stones 106–7, 127; Jewish attempt to buy 198, 242n.; and musical harmony 139–40; as new temple of Solomon 105–9, 127; portico 198, 202; symbolic purpose of restoration 49–50, 51; triumphal processions to 163, 172–3; use of Tuscan Order 131–2; *see also* Jones, Inigo
 St Paul's, Covent Garden 53
 Saturn 13, 14
 Schaw, William, on masons 81
 science, relationship to art 1–2
 Selden, John 132, 241n.; and *STONE-HENG Restored* 201–2
 Serlio, S. 73, 74, 141, 169; Jones's study of 125; on perspective 85
 sermons, court 105–6, 139, 162–3, 175; by John Donne 176–7; and Cabalism 47–9; and ideal of mystic kingship 45–52; on London as New Jerusalem 45
 de Servi, Constantino, garden design 97
 Shakespeare, William; Neoplatonic influence on 5–6; *King Lear* 58; *The Merchant of Venice* 137–8; *The Merry Wives of Windsor* 37, 40; *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 37; *The Tempest* 10, 12, 13, 90, 100, 151
 Shirley, James: *Love's Crueltie* 140; *The Triumph of Peace* 64
 Sidney, Sir Philip 5, 182; *Arcadia* 37
Sir Gawain and the Green Knight 65
 Soane, John, drawing of the Banqueting House 147
 Solomon 49; foundation of temple 107; on harmonic structure 136; James I represented as 105, 111, 149; temple as image of cosmic harmony 69, 71; and twisted vine columns 77–8

INDEX

- Somerset House 8; chapel 141; design of 166, 169, 170; garden design 100, 102, 156
- Spenser, Edmund 64; *The Faerie Queene* 5, 13, 25–6, 33, 63, 65, 142–3, 194; *Hymnes* 5; *Ruins of Time* 41
- Stickells, Robert, on architectural Orders 66
- Stonehenge 52–3, 53–4; as analogue of Solomon's temple 133–4; authorship of *STONE-HENG Restored* 201–5; and Druids 95–6, 134, 203; Inigo Jones and 55–8, 62, 119, 129–34, 192; and memory theatre 185
- Stow, J.: *Chronicle* 164, 172; *Survey of London* 45
- Strong, Roy: on Whitehall Palace 112; on Wilton House garden 103
- Stukeley, William, *Stonehenge, a Temple Restored to the British Druids* 134, 203
- sun: and memory systems 185–6; role of sun king 184–8, 191; as symbol of kingship 155–8
- sundials 178, 238–9n.
- Tait, on Inigo Jones's geometry 119
talismans 186
- Taylor, Rene, on geometry in design of Escorial Palace, Madrid 109, 111
- Temple Bar, London 166, 169, 171–2
- theatre design 132; geometry in 122–3; Globe Theatre 123, 124, 130; and Pythagorean harmony 152–3; Roman 109, 110, 131; sited in imagination 151
- Thomas, Keith, on practical magic 4
- Thornborough, John, Bishop of Bristol and Worcester: interest in alchemy 45–6; on music and political harmony 139; and solar symbolism 157–8
- Thorpe, John, garden design 94
- Townshend, Aurelian 17; *Albion's Triumph* 27, 89, 121, 150, 162; *Tempe Restored* 22, 138
- triumphal arches 158–9, 160, 163, 169, 171–2, 184; and architectural Orders 66, 74, 78, 160
- triumphal processions 158–73, 195–6; and masques 161; Roman 162; route through London 163–73
- Troy, as origin of British kingship 32–3, 36, 45
- Tuscan Order 53–4, 74, 77, 131–2, 143, 169, 185
- d'Urfe, Honore, *L'Astree* 92, 201
- Uther Pendragon 53, 64
- Valeriano, Piero 185 *Hieroglyphica* 61, 62, 74, 140
- Van Dyck, Sir Anthony 22; representations of Charles I 4, 7, 13, 63, 159, 162; and royal absolutism 9; use of architectural Orders 77; *Charles I and the Knights of the Garter in Procession* 39, 40; *Iconographiae* 125
- Vergil, Polydore 33
- Villa d'Este, Tivoli 93
- Villa Pratolino, Florence 93–4, 97
- Villalpando, Juan Bautista: commentary on Ezekiel 109, 111, 112; on Solomon's temple 71, 72, 114
- Vincent, Thomas, *Gods Terrible Voice in the City* 198
- Virgil, *Aeneid* 32
- Vitruvius 8, 197 on architectural Orders 53, 66, 69, 71; influence on Jones 58, 119–21; and linear perspective 84; on mechanics 88, 101; on microcosm—macrocosm analogy 14–15; on perfect numbers 145; on plan of Solomon's temple 111–12; theatre plan 56, 110, 131, 132
- Wales, association with magician-priests 55–6
- Waller, Edmund 198 on St Paul's 184
- Walton, Brian, Bishop, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 112
- Webb, John: and authorship of *STONE-HENG Restored* 201–5; collaboration on work on St Paul's Cathedral 205; design for king's bedchamber 114; design for pulley at St Paul's 90, 91; design of Wilton House 95, 96, 99; designs for Whitehall Palace 111–12; survey of Stonehenge 53, 56, 88; *HISTORICAL ESSAY* on original language 60, 127–8; *A VINDICATION OF Stone-Heng Restored* 58, 121, 124, 203

- white magic 1, 9
- Whitehall Palace 184; design of 112, 113, 115; gardens 68
- Whitney, Geoffrey, *A Choice of Emblems* 122
- Wilkins, John, *Mathematicall MAGICK* 88
- William of Malmesbury 54
- Williams, Bishop, *Great Britains SALOMON* 111
- Willis, John: on memory theatre 186; *Mnemonica; sive Ars Reminiscendi* 82–3
- Willis, Timothy, *The Search of Causes* 137
- Wilton House 141, 201 garden design 103; Jones-Webb design for 95, 96, 99; remodelling of 103
- Windsor Castle, St George's Chapel 40, 41
- witchcraft, fears of 9, 12
- Wotton, Henry 37; on architectural Orders 143; on architecture as music 145–6; on art and science 2; on garden at Heidelberg 101; on garden design 92–3, 95, 101–2; on Gothic 113; on Pythagorean numerology 145; on sculpture and perspective 85; *Elements of Architecture* 14, 15, 16, 75–7, 101, 126
- Wycke, Thomas, sketch of St Paul's Cathedral 116
- Yates, Frances on Globe Theatre 130; on John Dee 6; on Renaissance art of memory 80; on *STONE-HENG Restored* 204; on theatre as temple 122–3